

**Changing female labour force  
participation and work patterns in Jakarta**

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Except mentioned, this thesis is entirely my own work

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Nima Singarimbun', written in a cursive style.

Nima Singarimbun

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## Abstract

This study analyses change in female labour force participation and work patterns in Jakarta. The main analysis is based on the population censuses of 1980 and 1990. The study examines change in female labour force participation over time and sets changes in female labour force participation and female work in Jakarta in the context of socio-economic and demographic changes in other metropolitan areas of East and Southeast Asia. The analysis of trends in female participation rates was standardised to take account of problems of data comparability and examines detail of changes in occupations. The advantage of using the censuses is that analysis can be undertaken based on the three-digit occupational codes, which give more understanding of change in women's occupations as well as occupational sex-segregation during the ten year period.

The study found that although female participation rates in Jakarta increased over time, the change was not as rapid as in other cities in East and Southeast Asia. In Jakarta, the increase in participation rates was greater for single women than married women. This pattern is different from other cities mentioned above where the increase was more rapid among married women. Slower economic growth in Jakarta may have contributed to slower change in traditional values about women's proper role, which lead to less response from older women to economic and social change.

The greatest change in women's occupation was found within sales occupations. Women increasingly played an important role in retail trade, saleswomen, and shop assistants, as petty trade declined in importance. Changing government policies towards the modern sector trade and the informal sector were partly responsible for these changes as Jakarta capitalised. Further, in 1990 the largest proportion of women were still employed as household maids, although this share declined during 1980-90. This was partly because of the increasing number of women employed as baby sitters, in addition to household maids as young women increasingly joined the labour force.

Occupational sex segregation declined during 1980-90. The proportion of employment in occupations with high female over-representation increased, although in 1990 women were still concentrated in traditional 'female occupations', such as professional and services occupations.



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## Chapter 1 : Introduction

This thesis deals with changing female labour force participation and work patterns in Jakarta. Women in many societies have played an increasingly important role in the labour force in the process of industrialisation. Studies in developing countries in East Asia and in developed countries (particularly in the United States in the late industrialisation period) have shown that many women joined the labour force because of changing values, demographic structure and because more jobs were often available to them. The increase was particularly rapid for married women. The industrialisation also opened up other economic activities in commercial as well as services sectors, which lead to changing patterns of women's employment in the later stage of economic development. Since more jobs were opened up for women, studies in the USA in particular show that occupational sex segregation tended to decline over time.

Jakarta just began a period of rapid export-oriented industrialisation in the 1980s, much later compared with other countries in East and Southeast Asia. Large improvements in education of women, changes in age at marriage and family structure also occurred quite late in Jakarta. The focus of this thesis is on examining how women's labour force participation, employment patterns and occupational sex segregation have changed over time in response to these developments.

### 1.1. Background to the study

Studies on female participation in the labour force in developed countries, particularly in the United States, have been numerous. However, there have been only a limited number of studies undertaken in developing countries, including Indonesia.

Until quite recently, most studies on women's employment in Indonesia were concentrated on rural women. Research on urban women was lacking. This research on women's economic activity, work patterns and determinants of women's employment is

mainly based on cross-sectional data.<sup>1</sup> There have been few studies based on provincial or national data sets, posing questions about the overall role women play in the labour market, and how this has been changing in the process of development. This thesis attempts to address the problem by giving an analysis of changing women's participation in the labour market in Jakarta in the process of development.

Changes in female labour force participation rates are influenced by both supply and demand. The supply side includes socio-economic and demographic changes as well as cultural attitudes about the proper role of women. Rates of economic and social development in Jakarta have been rapid, particularly after the mid-1980s. At the same time the demographic structure of the population has changed. As fertility and mortality rates declined, the proportion of the population aged less than 15 years decreased, and by 1990 the proportion of all female population aged over 15 increased.

Furthermore, the age structure of the Jakarta population is greatly affected by migration. Age at first marriage also rose, because women increasingly delayed their marriages and increasingly became more-educated.

The demand side for female participation was influenced by rapid economic expansion and economic deregulation in the 1980s, which resulted in the rapid growth of labour-intensive export industries (Hill, 1996). The expansion of factories engaged in manufacturing activities such as garments and food processing brought new employment opportunities for women, particularly for those who were young (White, 1993). Smaller enterprises also increased rapidly during the 1980s, which were characterised by a massive use of sub-contracting and putting-out arrangements in order to reduce the production costs.

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<sup>1</sup> Two recent studies of Jakarta include Widarti (1991) and Raharto (1992)

The commercial sector expanded as industrialisation took place. During the later stage in the industrialisation process, retail business and commercial establishments such as big department stores and shopping complexes started to grow in Indonesia, and especially in the capital and centre of business, Jakarta.

Government policies towards *kampung* settlements in the city and towards informal sector workers as the city modernised also played an important role in changing women's employment. Jellinek (1991) argued that until the mid-1970s the *kampung* and city were symbiotic, meaning that the *kampung* residents provided cheap labour, goods and services for the expanding city, and that on the other hand, they obtained better access to employment and a higher income than if they had remained in their villages. The process peaked around the late 1960s and the early 1970s when construction work in the middle of the city was booming. As the city rapidly modernised, however, in the mid-1970s the prosperity of the inner city *kampung* settlements was threatened and by 1975 the small-scale, self-employed jobs which had helped many *kampung* residents raise their standard of living were being displaced.

As the importance of agriculture within the Indonesian economy declined, the role of urban areas, particularly Jakarta, in providing economic activities become more important. Despite the decline in some of the traditional employments of low-income, *kampung* women, other work opportunities were opening up. As a result more and more women migrated to Jakarta to earn a living. With urbanisation, the structure of the labour market became more diverse. Jakarta provided jobs for both less-educated and better-educated women.

The impact of these changes in labour supply and demand on female labour force has depended partly on changing some values and attitudes to women's work. Socio-economic and demographic change have occurred against a backdrop of conservative socio-cultural attitudes and values regarding the economic role of women. This is because the social norms often demand that women be submissive to men. The ideal concept of a woman, one who takes care of her husband and children, is deeply rooted in Indonesia. This concept is reinforced by state and legal ideology. The Marriage Law of 1974 (article 31) states that the husband is the head of the household and the wife is the mother of the household. Further, the Guidelines of State Policy (*Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara=GBHN*) heavily emphasise the role of women in the family. Government programs for women portray a particular image which women are expected to follow, that is a woman will find fulfillment by being a supportive wife, a good mother, and a good housewife, none of which need remuneration.

All of these changes, both in labour supply, labour demand and in values, can be expected to have been especially rapid in Jakarta. Demographic, social and economic change often occurs earliest in the capital city and commercial centre.

These big changes in factors underlying the supply and demand for labour raise many questions regarding the changing structure of the labour force, and especially female participation and employment in a rapidly changing city. The major questions are as follows: what has been the outcome of economic change for women's labour force participation and employment, and how have the changes in women's employment differed within different age cohorts and educational groups? How have economic changes interacted with traditional values about the role of women in leading to more liberal ideas about women's participation in the labour force? How was the trend in occupational sex segregation? This thesis focuses on these issues.

There are difficulties in analysing changing female labour force (Oppenheimer, 1970). This is mainly due to the definition of work according to the censuses. As in other developing countries, most people in Jakarta must earn a living. However, female participation rates in Jakarta, recorded in the censuses, tend to be low. The low rates of female labour force participation in Jakarta based on the 1971 and 1980 censuses were, in part, because of problems of classification of the working age group population. The thesis also addresses conceptual and methodological issues in defining the female work force and female employment.

## **1.2. Organisation of the study**

The thesis is organised into three parts. The first part consisting of Chapter 2, aims to set trends in Jakarta into the context of demographic and socio-economic change in South-East Asia as a whole, and the consequent change in women's employment in cities of this region. It therefore discusses changing female labour force participation in Jakarta in the context of East and Southeast Asian metropolitan areas. Factors affecting these changes, both supply and demand factors, are analysed. The second part, Chapters 3 and 4, presents background on the changes in roles of women in urban Indonesia in general and the socio-economic changes in Jakarta in order to support the quantitative analysis in subsequent chapters. The third part, Chapters 5, 6, and 7, examines changes in female participation rates as well as employment, work status and occupational patterns in Jakarta. Factors affecting these changes are also discussed.

## **1.3. Data sources**

There are four main secondary sources of data on the Indonesian labour force. They are the population censuses, Intercensal Surveys, National Labour Force Surveys (*SAKERNAS*), and the National Socio-Economic Surveys (*SUSENAS*). Population censuses in Indonesia have been undertaken four times since independence, namely: 1961,

1971, 1980 and 1990. Intercensal Surveys (*SUPAS*) have been undertaken three times: 1976, 1985 and 1995. National Labour Force Surveys (*SAKERNAS*) were started in 1976 and were conducted quarterly in 1977-1978 and 1986-1994. The National Socio-Economic Survey (*SUSENAS*) was conducted in 1982 and a nationally representative one was undertaken in 1993. All of these data are collected by the Central Bureau of Statistics in Jakarta.

However, among the main sources mentioned above, only the censuses will be used for the main analysis in the thesis. This is because it is difficult to analyse trends in female labour force participation rates based on different sources because of the different definitions, procedures and focuses used in the different sources (Jones, 1987a). In an analysis of changing female labour force participation over time using the census, *SUPAS* and *SAKERNAS*, Jones (1987a) suggests that much of the difference in activity rates found in various survey reflects different definitions and procedure rather than real changes. Another possible reason for the differences in female labour force participation rates among these data sources is because of the differences in when they are conducted. Whereas *SUPAS* and censuses are conducted in October, *SAKERNAS* are conducted four times in a year. The published data from the latter is based on the average of these three-monthly result. The *SUPAS* and *SAKERNAS* figures tend to show higher participation rates than the censuses because of the higher proportion of women in the unpaid family worker category.

The analysis of this study, then, is based on the population censuses. The published data from the 1961 and 1971 censuses are used to analyse the broad trends within main industries and occupations (one-digit), whereas the 1980 and 1990 census data tapes are used in order to analyse changes in detailed occupational patterns (three-digit) in that intercensal period.

The advantage of using the data tapes of the censuses is that these sources provide data on detailed occupations (three-digit), which are not available through other sources, except *SUPAS*. Unfortunately, data on three-digit occupations based on *SUPAS* are not directly comparable with those based on the censuses. This is partly because *SUPAS* has a smaller sample size, therefore, it will lead to greater variability owing to sampling.

As regards the month of the census, which must be taken into account because of seasonal activities, the censuses are comparable because all were conducted in October, which is the least active economic period of the year in agriculture.

The sampling rate used in the 1971, 1980 and 1990 censuses for Jakarta is different. However, this does not greatly affect the results of the analysis. The sampling rate in the 1971 census was about 3.8 per cent, whereas in 1980 and 1990 it was 5 and 10 per cent respectively.

The classifications of main industry and major occupation were based on the international classification system developed by the United Nations in 1968. The classification is widely known as the International Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC) and the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO). These classifications were modified to the Indonesian economic setting, resulting in nine main industrial and eight major occupational categories (Manning, C., 1982:2).

#### **1.4. Data limitations**

Discussion of data limitations includes measurement of the economically active population based on each census, the definition used in classifying the working age population in each censuses, differences in the processing of the results of the censuses, and the need for caution in analysing change in occupation.

Measurement of the economically active population in the 1961 census was different from that used in other censuses. In the 1961 census, the gainful worker approach was used, with people recorded according to their usual activity in a particular time reference, in this case six months. The limitation of this approach is that people who used to work but are no longer doing so (including those who have retired at the time of enumeration) will tend to be classified as economically active. On the other hand, unemployed people will not be included in the economically active population. Moreover, recall is easier for a short period than for a six month period. Because of these limitations, since the 1971 census the Central Bureau of Statistics has used the labour force concept. In this approach, people are recorded according to their current activity in a particular reference period. Although the reference period of one week applied to the 1971 census is the same as that applied in the 1980 and 1990 censuses, the minimum working hours are not the same. The minimum working time used in the 1971 census was two days, while that used in the later censuses was one hour. The different minimum working hours used by the 1971 and the later censuses, do not appear to greatly affect the recorded economically active population.

The definition of the working age population in the 1971 and 1980 censuses was slightly different from that in the 1990 census. Whereas in the former censuses, the classification of working age population was based on a question on main activity during the previous week, in the latter it was based on a question on activity mostly undertaken in terms of time commitment. The change in 1990 was minor, however, and should not affect female labour force participation rates.

The 1971 and 1980 censuses tend to record lower labour force participation rates than in 1990 because of the high proportion of people recorded in the 'others' category in the classification of working age population. Some scholars (Hidayat, 1976; Bukit and Bakir, 1984; and Jones, 1974) mention that this is because of the discouraged workers.



They suggest some adjustments in the rates to obtain more realistic figures. Therefore, in this study (Chapter 2 and Chapter 5), the labour force participation rates were adjusted before comparing them with other data.

Caution needs to be taken in analysing changes in occupations based on the censuses, because of some expansion and reclassification of occupations within the ten year period 1980-1990. For example, in the 1980 census, teletypists were classified together with stenographers and typists (321), but in the 1990 census they were classified separately (323). Bookkeepers and cashiers were classified together (331) in the 1980 census, but were classified separately in the 1990 census. These problems of classification will be discussed in detail in later chapters.

## **Chapter 2 : Economic Development and Female Labour Force Participation in East and Southeast Asia**

East and Southeast Asian countries have experienced very rapid economic growth. The export-oriented growth strategies have been a success in the East Asian countries and Singapore which resulted in their transition to the status of middle-income industrialised countries by the 1990s. In addition to the spectacular economic growth, East and Southeast Asian countries have been undergoing a rapid demographic transition. The decline in population growth in the past 25 years is due to the decline in fertility.

During the later stages of the demographic transition, the labour force participation rates have been rising and the rise in female participation rates is one of the factors causing the labour force to grow rapidly (Galenson, 1992). Part of this effect is due to a change in the age distribution, and part is due to the rise in married women's participation in labour markets as the share of their time devoted to childrearing declines.

One would expect that participation rates would have risen quickly in those countries where education of women improved more quickly, because education opens up new work opportunities. Given the negative relationship between education and number of children, and the positive relationship with female labour participation, one might expect female labour force participations to have risen more steeply in more developed Eastern Asian countries, where education has reached advanced levels, compared with Southeast Asian countries.

This chapter discusses female participation rates in East and Southeast Asian countries during 1970-90 where data are available. Both supply and demand factors will be examined. The factors include economic factors, education, family size and structure, social values and discrimination, urbanisation and migration. After analysing these

factors, levels, trends and patterns of female participation as well as main industry and occupation of women will be analysed.

Until recently, the age limit applied by the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics in defining the Indonesian labour force was 10 years and above. This age limit is the lowest among the East and Southeast Asian countries. The age limit used in the Thai censuses up to 1980 increased from 11 to 13 years in 1990, whereas that for Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines it increased from 10 in 1971 to 15 in 1980. In this study, both age limits (10 and 15 years) are used to ensure the widest comparability for the available data.

## **2.1. Factors underlying changes in female work**

The factors underlying changes in female work that will be examined in this section are economic growth, education, family size and structure, social values and discrimination, and urbanisation and migration.

### **2.1.1. Industrialisation policies and economic growth**

Industrialisation policies affect the propensity of women to be in the labour market. Policies favouring export-oriented manufacturing tends to increase women's employment, relative to men, as women have been the preferred source of labour for labour-intensive, export-oriented industries (Lim, 1993b:211).

The countries in East and Southeast Asia all began to develop with import substitution strategies in the 1960s. Most Southeast Asian countries moved toward labour-intensive, export-oriented manufacturing much later than the East Asian countries (World Bank, 1995). Among the Southeast Asian countries, Indonesia was the last to adopt an outward-oriented strategy. Although most of the Southeast Asian countries had adopted outward-oriented strategies in the 1970s, Indonesia adopted it only in the 1980s. This affected the absorption of women workers in the manufacturing industry. Labour

absorption in the manufacturing industry in Indonesia was not as rapid as that in other Southeast Asian countries.

Among the Southeast Asian countries included in Table 2-9, Indonesia has the lowest GNP per capita. During 1970-80 the GDP growth rate in Indonesia was closer to the others.

During the decade 1970-80, the average annual growth rate of GDP of the newly industrializing countries was higher compared with the ASEAN-4 countries, ranging from 8.3 per cent in Singapore to 9.6 per cent in the Republic of Korea (Table 2-1). Among the ASEAN-4 countries, the highest GDP annual growth rates during 1970-80 was achieved by Malaysia. However, during the following period 1980-92, growth rates declined for most of the countries of East and Southeast Asia, partly due to the world recession during the 1980s (World Bank, 1995). Only Korea and Thailand maintained their economic growth. During this period, the rate of economic growth in Thailand was highest among the ASEAN-4 countries, and even higher than that of Hong Kong and Singapore. The Philippines recorded the lowest growth rate, while that of Indonesia was slightly lower (5.7 per cent) than that of Malaysia (5.9 per cent).

**Table 2-1. GNP per capita and GDP growth rates, East and Southeast Asian countries (constant prices)**

Countries	GNP per capita (dollars)		GDP annual growth rates (per cent)	
	1976	1992	1970-80	1980-92
Rep. of Korea	670	6790	9.6	9.4
Hong Kong	2110	15360	9.2	6.7
Singapore	2700	15730	8.3	6.7
Malaysia	860	2790	7.9	5.9
Thailand	380	1840	7.1	8.2
Philippines	410	770	6.0	1.2
Indonesia	240	670	7.2	5.7

Sources: World Bank (1994: Tables 1 and 2).

The dramatic rate of economic growth in some of the newly industrializing countries in the 1980s was achieved at the expense of worsening income distribution. From the 1980s, income distribution in the newly industrializing countries has tended to become more unequal, in contrast to the earlier period when the distribution became more equal as the economies grew (Krongkaew, 1994:70). By contrast, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines have shown a tendency toward greater equality in the distribution of income in recent years. Thailand was the exception among the ASEAN-4 countries. Its worsening income distribution reflected the effect of a pattern of industrialisation in which investment promotion favoured capital-intensive over labour-intensive activities. Industrial activities have been concentrated in and around Bangkok, and the industrial sector has been protected by various government policy measures.

The rapid economic growth in East and Southeast Asia was achieved by an outward-looking industrialisation policy emphasizing export promotion, combined with rapid increases in the production of agricultural commodities. Among the ASEAN-4 countries, the growth of export in Indonesia during the period 1970-80 ranked the second after Thailand and was even higher than that of Singapore (Table 2-2). However, because of the effect of the fall in oil price, the growth of exports in Indonesia, as in most East and Southeast Asian countries, declined during 1980-92. Thailand succeeded in maintaining a high rate of growth (14.7 per cent), even higher than the previous period, followed by Malaysia (11.3 per cent) and Singapore (9.9 per cent). Among the East Asian NICs, the effect was greatest in Korea.

**Table 2-2. Average annual growth of exports,  
East and Southeast Asian countries,  
1970-80 to 1980-92 (per cent)**

Countries	1970-80	1980-92
Taiwan	15.6	11.0
Korea	23.5	11.9
Hong Kong	9.7	5.0
Singapore	4.2	9.9
Malaysia	4.8	11.3
Thailand	10.3	14.7
Philippines	6.0	3.7
Indonesia	7.2	5.6

Source: World Bank (1994: Table 13)

**Table 2-3. Structure of merchandise exports, East and Southeast Asian  
countries, 1970-92 (per cent)**

	Fuels		Primary Commodity		Machinery		Other Manufactures	
	1970	1992	1970	1992	1970	1992	1970	1992
Rep. of Korea	7	3	17	4	7	40	69	53
Hongkong	1	2	3	3	12	24	84	71
Singapore	25	15	45	7	11	52	20	26
Indonesia	44	38	54	15	0	4	1	44
Malaysia	30	17	63	22	2	38	6	23
Philippines	23	8	70	19	0	17	8	56
Thailand	15	2	77	32	0	22	8	45

Source: World Bank (1994: Table 15).

The share of other manufacturing goods in total exports was the highest for all East Asian countries from 1970. The highest level was recorded in Hong Kong, although the figure had declined in 1992 (Table 2-3).

Primary commodities played an important role in all Southeast Asian countries in 1970, but by 1992 their share of total exports had declined substantially (Table 2-3). As the share of primary commodity declined, other manufactures share the largest to total merchandise export in Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand. In 1992, Malaysia follow the pattern in Singapore, where as the share of primary commodities decreased, the share of machinery and transport equipment in total exports increased strikingly. By 1992, the proportion of machinery and transport equipment to total exports was the largest in these countries.

Among the ASEAN-4 countries, the rate of industrialisation in Indonesia was the highest as measured by the change in the increase in the share of manufacturing in total output over time (Table 2-4). This is because the share of industry in total GDP in Indonesia started from a low base (19 per cent), and it increased to 40 per cent in 1992. By contrast, the share of manufacturing in total output declined in Hong Kong, offset by a rapid rise in the share of services.

The increase in the share of industry of total GDP in the ASEAN-4 countries has been at the expense of the agricultural sector, the share of which declined over the last two decades. For the services sector, a substantial increase was found only in Hong Kong and the Philippines.

The rate of industrialisation in the Asian NICs was also quite remarkable. In all countries under consideration with the exception of Hong Kong, the share of manufacturing to total GDP increased sharply at the expense of agriculture (Table 2-4).

**Table 2-4. Distribution of Gross Domestic Product by sector in East and Southeast Asian countries, 1970-92 (per cent)**

Countries	Agriculture		Manufacturing		Services	
	1970	1992	1970	1992	1970	1992
Rep. of Korea	26	8	29	45	45	47
Hong Kong	2	0	36	23	62	77
Singapore	2	0	30	38	68	62
Malaysia	29	n.a.	25	n.a.	46	n.a.
Thailand	26	12	25	39	49	49
Philippines	30	22	32	33	39	45
Indonesia	45	19	19	40	36	40

Source: World Bank (1994: Table 3)

Note : Total may not add up to 100 because of rounding  
n.a. = not available

As the structure of production was rapidly transformed, the structure of employment also changed rapidly (Table 2-5). The percentage share of agricultural employment declined, although the largest share of employment in Thailand and Indonesia were still in the agricultural sector in 1992. Agriculture's higher share in employment than in output reflects lower productivity per worker in agriculture than in other industries.

**Table 2-5. Employment structure by sector, East and Southeast Asian countries, 1970-92 (per cent)**

Countries	Agriculture		Manufacture		Services	
	1970	1992	1970	1992	1970	1992
Rep. of Korea	50	16	17	35	32	49
Hong Kong	2 <sup>a</sup>	-	36 <sup>a</sup>	28	62 <sup>a</sup>	72
Singapore	*	*	38	35	61	65
Malaysia	53	26 <sup>b</sup>	10	28 <sup>b</sup>	37	46 <sup>b</sup>
Thailand	80	60 <sup>c</sup>	6	15 <sup>c</sup>	14	24 <sup>c</sup>
Philippines	51	45	16	16	32	39
Indonesia	67 <sup>a</sup>	55	9 <sup>a</sup>	14	24 <sup>a</sup>	31

Source: ILO, Year Book of Labour Statistics (1973: Table 3);

ILO, Year Book of Labour Statistics (1993: Table 3);

Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 45); Indonesia, BPS (1992d: Table 44.9)

Note : Total may not add up to 100 because of rounding

\* less than one per cent

<sup>a</sup> 1971

<sup>b</sup> 1990

<sup>c</sup> 1991

The difference in industrial structure between the newly industrializing and ASEAN-4 countries is likely to affect female employment in urban areas. Certain sectors of industry, for example clothing and electronics, often located in urban areas which tend to have a higher proportion of females. So, in countries where these industries were thriving, many jobs were likely to be available for women in towns. However, as we have seen, the availability of jobs, wage levels and working conditions, and the relationship between productive and non-productive work, may also affect women's decisions to enter the urban labour market. These factors, as well as culture and family systems which differ



very greatly between countries, will result in different conditions of women's employment in the countries under consideration.

### **2.1.2. Education**

Education is generally considered a pre-requisite for economic participation in the modern sector in the process of industrialisation and general development. Modern sector employers have relied on educational achievement as a device for screening job applicants. The better a woman's education, the more likely it is that she will participate in the modern sector of the labour force (see Standing, 1982d:139-163).

Females of working age are increasingly better educated in East and Southeast Asia as a result of almost universal primary education and increasing proportions of women gaining some secondary education. Enrolment ratios for females, especially in secondary education, have increased substantially in the countries under consideration within the last two decades (Table 2-6).

Females in East Asian NICs are better educated than in the ASEAN-4 countries excluding the Philippines. Table 2-6 shows that secondary enrolment ratios in the East Asian NICs are higher than that in Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia. Within the ASEAN-4 countries, females in Indonesia and Thailand were less-educated than those in Malaysia and the Philippines. Nevertheless, female education in Indonesia and Thailand has increased rapidly.

Although in most cases males are still better educated than females, the gender differential in education has narrowed over time in all the countries mentioned above. At the secondary level, there has been a crossover in favour of females in Hong Kong, Singapore and the Philippines since 1980 and in Malaysia since 1990. The enrolment ratio for females is higher than for males in these countries (Table 2-6).

**Table 2-6. Enrolment ratios at primary and secondary level by sex, East and Southeast Asian countries, 1970-90**

Countries		Primary level			Secondary level		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Rep. of Korea	1970	103	104	103	34	40	28
	1980	109	109	110	49	50	47
	1990	107	105	109	56	55	58
Hong Kong	1970	117	119	115	35	39	30
	1980	107	108	105	64	63	65
	1989	108	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Singapore	1970	106	110	102	46	47	45
	1980	108	109	106	58	56	59
	1990	108	110	107	70	70	71
Malaysia	1970	87	91	84	34	40	28
	1980	95	96	95	49	50	47
	1990	93	93	93	56	55	58
Thailand	1970	83	86	79	17	20	15
	1980	99	100	97	29	30	28
	1990	90	92	88	33	34	32
Philippines	1970	108	n.a.	n.a.	46	n.a.	n.a.
	1980	111	112	110	64	59	69
	1990	111	n.a.	n.a.	73	n.a.	n.a.
Indonesia	1970	77	83	71	15	20	10
	1980	107	115	100	29	35	23
	1990	116	119	114	45	49	41

Sources: UNESCO (1980 : Table 3.2); UNESCO (1993: Table 3.2)

Note : n.a. = not available

In the ASEAN-4 countries, the increase in female education between 1980 and 1990 was greater than in the East Asian NICs because in the latter, enrolment rates were already high from the 1970s because of heavy investment in education. Over the past two decades, the increase in Indonesia was the highest within East and Southeast Asia.

Unlike in the East Asian NICs, sex differentials in education especially at the secondary level, are still large in Indonesia. Research has found a tendency for poorer families in Indonesia to favour boys in the allocation of scarce family resources for education (Oey-Gardiner, 1991:57). In contrast, the low sex differentials at the secondary

level in Singapore and Malaysia suggests more modern attitudes of parents toward education for daughters in these countries. Educational policy in Singapore, which promotes equal access to education for males and females, has led to improved skills and employability among females, giving them access to professional and skilled and semi-skilled occupations (Mani, 1983; Smith and Cheung, 1981).

### **2.1.3. Family size and structure**

In developed countries, many studies have found a negative relationship between fertility and female labour force participation rates (Sweet, 1973). Opportunity cost and maternal role incompatibility are factors generally mentioned in explaining this relationship. The number and ages of children affect female labour force participation (Standing, 1978). However, some argue that the research results are inconsistent (Lehrer and Nerlove, 1986). Kupinsky (1977) argues that the direction can be reversed and causation may be two-way. Employment may have a direct causal effect on women's fertility. The decision about when and whether to participate in the labour force, and when to start childbearing are interrelated.

In developing countries, the relationship between fertility and female labour force participation varies according to the socio-economic and cultural setting and the nature of job opportunities available to women. In the urban areas of low-income countries, the relationship is likely to be more varied depending on the nature of the labour market and degree of compatibility between work and child care (Jaffe and Azumi, 1960).

Family values and structure can influence women's position in the labour market in many ways. First, the family is a repository of values regarding whether women (particularly married women) should work or not, and the kinds of work considered appropriate for them. Second, the participation of women in the labour market varies according to their position within the household and the domestic cycle. As a result, changes in marriage and fertility may affect the supply of women to the labour market.

Finally, the position and function of women within the family may determine their access to productive resources (Mackintosh, 1981; Elson and Pearson, 1981).

Youssef (1974) explored the role of family structure in explaining variations in the impact of economic development on female employment. She shows that later marriage and cohabitation (lack of control over women through formal marriage) accounts for higher female participation rates in Latin America than in the Middle East.

Jakarta as well as Bangkok, Hong Kong, Singapore, Bangkok have experienced rapid fertility decline. This was achieved mainly through an increase in contraceptive practice. Increased motivation for smaller families and higher age at first marriage in these metropolitan areas was also related to increasing number of women working outside the home. Moreover, a decline in the fertility of young women suggests a delay in the timing of first births that may be associated with higher educational levels of women, which leads to higher occupational status among employed women.

In Singapore, government policy has encouraged the provision of alternative child care facilities, such as the import of foreign household maids and the establishment and support of child care centres (Eng and Keong, 1988:378-379). Fiscal policy, in the form of tax concessions and tax allowances for better educated working mothers, is directed toward encouraging this group of women to remain in the labour force after marriage and childbearing. In Bangkok and Jakarta, the provision of child care centres is limited. Many working mothers in these metropolitan areas rely on family members and maids for childcare.

#### **2.1.4. Social values and discrimination**

Women workers are often discriminated against because of women's primary responsibility for and identification with the reproductive role, which in effect results in interruption in women's working life as a result of marriage and childbearing. Moreover, it is suggested that married women may leave employment not only to raise a family, but

because of the geographical mobility on the part of the husband (Chiplin and Sloane, 1980:286).

Employers thus tend not to hire women for or promote them to more important jobs, and are reluctant to invest in skills training and upgrading for them. Women employees are perceived as being both more costly (because of legislated maternity leave and benefits) and less productive (because of higher absenteeism and turnover rates) than men, and their employment is additionally complicated by 'protective legislation' which, for example, in some countries, restricts their employment at night or in certain jobs, or requires the provision of monthly 'menstruation leave'. Furthermore, employer discrimination in hiring, promotion, training and development opportunities on the basis of sex is beyond the scope of bargaining and negotiation of trade unions. This situation is further complicated by the fact of an 'economy where different foreign companies practise different philosophies of employment over which unions have no say' (Teo, 1986).

Women, on the other hand, responding to their limited employment opportunities and expectation of a short work-life, also tend to invest less in their own education and training than men, and may be reluctant to accept promotions and more responsible jobs which they feel may conflict with their reproductive role. Many women might prefer part-time work as a means of accomodating the more important reproductive role. If they work full-time, the additional demands of the reproductive role may result in lower productivity at the workplace.

For example, a survey among female Thai government employees revealed that most of them accepted the faster promotion of their male colleagues as 'natural' or even 'appropriate'. At the same time these women felt their own abilities were not properly recognized by their superiors, colleagues and society; this is reflected in their low level of confidence and general attitude toward work (Suwapan, 1985:8-10). Therefore, it is not

surprising that high positions are awarded to men who have more positive expectations from their work (Tonguthai, 1987:209).

Sex discrimination in job promotion even persists among civil servants in Thailand. A study of the employment structure and promotional opportunities among workers in the Civil Service Commission in Thailand found that although the female share of total employment was around 60 per cent during the three-year period covered by the study, the high level positions were dominated by males (Suwapan 1985:63-64 in Tonguthai, 1987:205).

Data for Singapore reveal that women are noticeably under-represented in the upper echelons of work in all sectors. Only 4 per cent of managers, 22 per cent of clerical supervisors and 11 per cent of executive officers in 1983 were women (Eng and Keong, 1988).

According to interviews with management in a Thai textile factory, the division of labour was created by the employers rather than by the employees. Prospective workers do not apply for specific jobs, but rather for openings of an unspecified nature. Management then assigns the jobs on the basis of sex. Management has the view that women's fingers are more nimble and their temperaments are more patient. Even the top managers seem to fully accept these assumptions, along with the assumption that men are more suited to heavy work. Moreover, they assume that men are more suited to be technicians, although few male workers interviewed had any more training for this job than the women (UN, ESCAP, 1987b:34-35).

Discrimination against women in the workplace may lead to the participation rates of women being lower than they would otherwise be, if they thought that better opportunities were available to them. We don't know whether discrimination has lessened or became worse over time.

### 2.1.5. Urbanisation and migration

Table 2-7 shows the change in the level of urbanisation during the period 1960-90 in East and Southeast Asian countries. All countries had experienced a dramatic increase in the proportion of population residing in urban areas. The level of urbanisation in Southeast Asia as a whole was below that in East Asia, although the increase in Southeast Asia was slightly higher than in East Asia during the period. The increase was especially great in Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia.

In all East Asian countries after 1980, urbanisation exceeded 50 per cent, except China (Table 2-7). The increase was especially spectacular in South Korea, which recorded a dramatic increase from 27.7 per cent in 1960 to 72.0 per cent in 1990, which suggests reclassification of urban areas may have also been important.

**Table 2-7. Level of urbanisation, East and Southeast Asian countries, 1960-90 (per cent)**

COUNTRY	1960	1970	1980	1990
East Asia	25.0	24.7	27.4	39.4
Japan	62.5	71.2	76.2	77.0
South Korea	27.7	40.7	56.9	72.0
China	19.0	17.4	19.6	33.4
Hong Kong	89.1	89.7	91.6	94.1
Singapore	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Southeast Asia	17.6	20.2	24.0	29.9
Malaysia	25.2	27.0	34.2	43.0
Thailand	12.5	13.3	17.3	22.6
Philippine	30.3	33.0	37.4	42.6
Indonesia	14.6	17.1	22.2	30.5

Source: United Nations (1992)

Internal migration has played an important role in the growth of urban population, especially in the ASEAN countries, partly because of declining rates of natural increase in urban areas (Ogawa, 1985). One of the main factors in the decline of urban fertility is to women's higher education. The development of both communications and transportation have also played an important role in urban growth.

As urban areas grew larger in East and Southeast Asia, increasing numbers of females moved to urban areas to seek employment. Those who were better-educated sought employment in the modern sector, while those who could not be absorbed in the limited modern sector were absorbed in the informal sector, which grew rapidly with urbanisation.

The migration of labour from rural to urban areas has been an important aspect of industrialisation in the last two decades for the cities of East and Southeast Asian countries (Lim, 1993a; Lim, 1993b:211). The role played by women in urban areas is significant and has become increasingly important. In Hong Kong and Singapore, which do not have a domestic rural hinterland to draw on, industrialisation has been supported by the importation of both male and female labour from abroad. Unlike in South Asia where female migrants are usually dependents and thus, tend to be older and married, female migrants in Southeast Asian countries tend to be young and single (Smith, Khoo, and Go, 1984).

The pattern of female migration changes as the economy of a country develops. As noted earlier, domestic service, which is a major occupation in urban areas during the early stages of development, declines in importance in some countries as the economy develops. This was the case in European countries in the twentieth century (Ebery and Preston, 1976 in Jones, 1993b:331) as well as in Latin American countries and in cities of the East Asian NICs during the 1970s.

As East and Southeast Asian countries adopted labour intensive export-oriented strategies and created employment opportunities favouring females, many young and single women migrated independently to earn a living in urban areas. It has been suggested that female migrants from rural areas are more likely to be hired by multinational companies because they are more malleable and less knowledgeable about



working conditions: thus, they are likely to be more passive and less demanding (Salih et al., 1985 in Lim, 1993b:212).

Female migration in Southeast Asia was also stimulated by the rapid expansion of the public sector during the 1970s. Many job opportunities in the civil service were opened up to women. Given goals of equal educational opportunities for women and integrating women into development, governments set an example by expanding the female share of public sector employment (Standing, 1989:1087). Since public sector jobs tend to require more educated people concentrated in capital cities, their expansion stimulated migration from urban to urban areas rather than rural to urban areas.

Women were able to respond to the growth of employment opportunities through autonomous migration because strong institutional and sociocultural barriers to female labour force participation weakened and demographic trends, together with educational gains, ensured an ample supply of qualified female labour (Eisold, 1984; Jones, 1984; Khoo, 1987; Lim, 1988). It has been suggested that in Indonesia, exposure to the mass media and the transportation revolution have reshaped the roles and status of women and increased the propensity of rural women to move (Hugo, 1992:187).

Where push factors dominate, female out-migration is more likely from areas where men control agricultural resources and production or where women have been displaced by agricultural mechanization and the decline of cottage industries (Sassen-Koob, 1984; Young, 1982). In Thailand, many young women from rural areas migrate to cities to find work because of the increasing difficulties of making a living from agriculture. Environmental degradation, droughts and other problems related to climate, together with the relative neglect of agriculture by the Government and the lack of employment alternatives for women, also pushed rural Thai women into migration to the city. In Java, the introduction of mechanization in rice milling in the early 1970s displaced a large number of female workers, thus increasing the pressure for out-migration (Collier,

1981). Other innovations in the planting, growing and harvesting of rice have also had major labour displacement effects impinging disproportionately upon rural Javanese women (Sajogyo, 1985:160, 163).

Since the 1980s, the international migration of women from Indonesia and Thailand seeking employment, particularly in domestic service, has increased. The economic pressures on many poor families, higher wages overseas, and a rise in expectations are among the explanations of this phenomenon. Indonesia sends considerable numbers of women to work abroad, although many going illegally to Malaysia are not recorded in official data (Hugo, 1993). The female selectivity of official contract migration has risen significantly in Indonesia: in 1983 men outnumbered women by 1.4 to 1; but by 1988 there were 3.4 female migrants for every male migrant. Most female Indonesian migrants work in Saudi Arabia. In contrast, Thai overseas labour migration is still heavily male dominated (Lim, 1993a:193).

Singapore and Hong Kong have traditionally been major importers of both male and female labour. In Singapore, female contract labour was mainly from Malaysia and filled the needs of the manufacturing and retail sectors. The men worked in construction and shipbuilding. Migrant labour has played an important role in the Singapore success story. Hong Kong has also imported large numbers of domestic servants, mainly from Philippines and Thailand (Lim, 1993a:193) and at certain times, illegal migrants from China.

## **2.2. Changes in female labour force participation rates**

### **2.2.1. Levels and trends of female labour force participation rates**

In the earlier section, it was shown that the more developed East Asian countries had higher economic growth than the ASEAN-4 countries. Therefore, I would expect that economic changes would lead to greater effect on female participation rates in the

former countries than the latter countries. But this turns out to be not always the case.

Trends in urban female labour force participation rates in Eastern and Southeast Asian countries during 1970s-1990s are shown in Table 2-8. It shows that the highest female labour force participation rates were found in Thailand, followed by Hong Kong. Unfortunately the data for 1990 was not available for Hong Kong. Malaysia and the Philippines also have high female participation rates. High educational attainment among females (see Table 2-6), reasonable employment opportunities and also, importantly, cultural factors in these countries may be responsible for this. In 1990, female participation rates in these countries were even higher than those in the Republic of Korea, Taiwan and Singapore.

**Table 2-8. Change in female labour force participation rates  
in urban areas, East and Southeast Asian countries,  
1970s-90s (ages 15+)**

Country	1970	1980	1990
Republic of Korea	26.3 <sup>a</sup>	30.4	44.2
Taiwan <sup>b</sup>	26.7	34.2 <sup>d</sup>	42.0 <sup>e</sup>
Hong Kong	42.8 <sup>c</sup>	49.5 <sup>d</sup>	n.a.
Singapore	29.5	44.2	48.4
Peninsular Malaysia	28.2	45.0 <sup>f</sup>	57.2 <sup>g</sup>
Thailand	45.1	54.4 <sup>f</sup>	60.8 (13+)
Philippines	33.7	32.6	54.5
Indonesia	25.5 <sup>c</sup>	27.7	34.2

Sources: Jones (1984: Table 2.5); Republic of Korea (1991);  
Republic of China (1994: Table 3); Indonesia (1992d: Table 35.2);  
Thailand (1990a: Table 1); ILO (1991: Table 1); Malaysia (1990: Table B2.2)

Notes : <sup>a</sup> Data refer to all cities (*shis*) <sup>e</sup> refers to non-farm households. 1994  
<sup>b</sup> Taiwan municipality <sup>f</sup> 1979  
<sup>c</sup> 1971 <sup>g</sup> 1988  
<sup>d</sup> 1981

n.a. = not applicable

Table 2-8 also shows that over the period 1970s-1990s female labour force participation rates tended to rise in urban Eastern and Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, female participation rates in Indonesia were lowest compared with other East and

Southeast Asian countries. Moreover, the increase during the two decades was not as great as in other urban areas of Southeast Asia. This is in contrast to Peninsular Malaysia where female participation rates have increased sharply: from 28.2 per cent in 1970 to 57.2 per cent in 1990.

Unlike in Indonesia where female participation rates were lowest among Southeast and East Asian countries, as mentioned earlier, Thailand has for a long time had the highest rates among these countries. Social attitudes in Thailand have always been favourable towards working women. It is never considered a 'loss of face' to a man for female members of his family to go out and earn a living (Tonguthai, 1987:197). Historical factors have also played an important role in the widespread economic involvement of Thai women. During the Ayudhaya and early Ratnanakosin period, as male peasants were serving the king, princess or noblemen, the women who were left behind had to work in farming and trading. But the relatively high female participation rates in this country is also partly due to the better enumeration of women working as family workers.

In sum, the pattern of female labour force participation rates did not follow the pattern of economic growth. Whereas Eastern Asian countries had higher economic growth, ASEAN-4 countries except Indonesia, had higher female labour force participation rates. It seems that not only economic factors can be responsible for high female labour force participation but also factors such as education, and cultural factors related to attitudes towards work for single, and married women, both childless and with children.

In Latin American countries much of the rise in women's labour force participation rates during 1970-80 has been attributed to the rise in unemployment rather than employment rates (Acevedo, 1990; Presser and Kishor, 1991). It seems that this was also the case for Jakarta, where unemployment rates increased sharply during the decade

1980-90 for both males and females (Table 2-9). This pattern was in contrast to the pattern in Bangkok, Hong Kong and Singapore where unemployment rates tended to decline during the same period (Table 2-9). In 1990, unemployment rates in Hong Kong and Singapore were very low for both males and females (less than two per cent), showing that both countries had reached full employment.

**Table 2-9. Unemployment rates by sex, Hong Kong, Singapore, Bangkok and Jakarta, 1980-90**

Country		1980	1990
Hong Kong	Males <sup>a</sup>	3.9	1.3
	Females <sup>a</sup>	3.4	1.3
Singapore	Males <sup>a</sup>	2.9	1.6
	Females <sup>a</sup>	3.5	1.7
Bangkok	Males <sup>b</sup>	3.7	2.1
	Females <sup>c</sup>	3.4	1.9
Jakarta	Males <sup>d</sup>	3.7	6.3
	Females <sup>d</sup>	4.3	8.9

Sources: Indonesia (1983b: Table 30.2); Indonesia (1992d: Table 22.2); ILO (1981: Table 9); ILO (1991: Table 9); Thailand (1980b: Table 2); Thailand (1990b: Table 1)

Notes : <sup>a</sup> population aged 15+  
<sup>b</sup> population aged 11+  
<sup>c</sup> population aged 13+  
<sup>d</sup> population aged 10+

The very low level of unemployment in Bangkok for both males and females in 1990 was likely to be affected by the definition of work. Many workers who were theoretically available for employment but had no jobs were not defined as unemployed in the surveys. In 1990, 65 per cent of the women who were available for work were not looking for work (Thailand, 1990b).

### 2.2.2. The pattern of female labour force participation by age

The age pattern of female labour force participation also varies among countries. The most common pattern for industrialised countries has been a sharp peak in labour force participation among women in their early twenties. According to Durand, the variety of patterns is associated with the life-cycle events of marriage, first pregnancy and the number of children per woman (Durand, 1975a:37). Differences in the age pattern of female labour force participation are attributable to differences in economic structure, culture, and sex-typing of occupation as well as data comparability (Jones, 1984b:25).

Durand classified the age patterns of female participation rates into four types (A-D) and four subtypes. Type A, also called the central peak or plateau, is where the peak of the participation occurs between the ages of 30 and 44, referred to as the central adult ages. In this type, women's participation in the labour force is less closely related to marriage and motherhood. It appears in countries where most women participate in the agricultural sector as unpaid family workers or are engaged in cottage industries, where it is easier for them to look after children while working.

Type B or the late peak occurs when female activity rates peak above age 45 years. In this pattern, more older women participate in the labour force because older married women and widows are free from childbearing and forced to earn a living. The low level among the younger age groups suggests that early marriage and early motherhood discourage them from participating in the labour force.

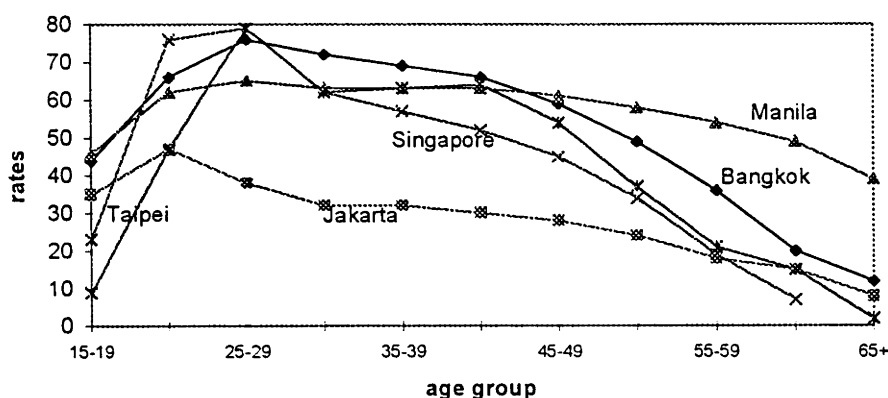
Type C or the early peak occurs when the peak is reached below age 30 and declines continuously thereafter. This pattern implies that most of the female labour force is single or young married women without children, and most withdraw from the labour force when they marry or have children. This type is divided into two. Subtype C-1 is when the decline in the activity rate is accompanied by some interruption. This suggests that some who withdraw from the labour force re-enter when their children are old

enough and no longer need intensive care. Subtype C-2 or the peak and shoulder curve occurs when there is a trough within the decline.

In type D or double peak, two obvious peaks are separated by a trough, with the minimum level usually occurring between the ages 25 and 34. This implies a relatively small average number of children per woman and high concentration of child-bearing in the early years of married life. The share of married women in the labour force is larger in this type than in type C. If the earlier peak is the higher of the two, the pattern is called subtype D-1. Subtype D-2 is when the later peak of the double-peak curve is higher.

Figure 2-1 shows the age-distribution pattern of female activity rates in the cities of East and Southeast Asia in 1990. The pattern of female participation rates by age in Jakarta is similar to that found in Bangkok and Singapore, which is the 'early peak without shoulder' pattern (type C-1). However, female participation rates in Jakarta reached its peak earlier (20-24) than that in Bangkok and Singapore (25-29). This is partly due to the earlier age at first marriage in Jakarta compared with Bangkok and Singapore. Among the Southeast Asian city under consideration, Manila is the only city that still presents a type-A or 'central peak' pattern.

**Figure 2-1. Female labour force participation rates by age, metropolitan areas of East and Southeast Asia, 1990**



Sources: China, 1994; Indonesia, BPS, 1992c; Philippines, 1992; Singapore, 1993b; Thailand, 1990a.

The female participation rates for the age group 15-19 in Taipei and Singapore were much lower than in Jakarta, Bangkok and Manila. This may be attributed to the greater proportion of the female population in this age group in Taipei and Singapore who were attending school. Moreover, although the general pattern of age-distribution of female activity rates in Jakarta and Bangkok is similar to that in Hong Kong and Singapore, the decline after the age group 25-29 in Jakarta and Bangkok was not as sharp as in Hong Kong and Singapore (Figure 2-2). This might have a cultural explanation. In Hong Kong and Singapore, where the average age at first marriage is high, large numbers of married women withdraw from the labour force in their early thirties to take care of their husbands and children (Jones, 1984b). The higher rates among the age group 20-24 in Hong Kong and Singapore was related to later age at marriage and childbearing as well as the higher level of economic development there than in Jakarta and Bangkok. As we shall see, Singapore offered more employment opportunities for better-educated young females, especially in clerical jobs and manufacturing. By contrast, domestic service was still a major occupation of the female labour force in Jakarta, and production and trade occupations were more important for women in Bangkok. The higher rates among those in the age group 30-44 in Bangkok compared to other metropolitan areas suggests the important role for women of trading occupations that can be easily combined with child care.

### **2.2.3. Change in the pattern of female labour force participation rates by age**

As mentioned in the introduction, studies about changing female labour force participation in the United States have been numerous. Female participation rates in United States have risen remarkably, particularly since World War II. The pattern by age and marital status has also changed greatly. An examination of changes in the USA associated with shifts in industrial structure is useful as a basis for evaluating changes in female labour force participation rates in East Asia. Whether changes in female



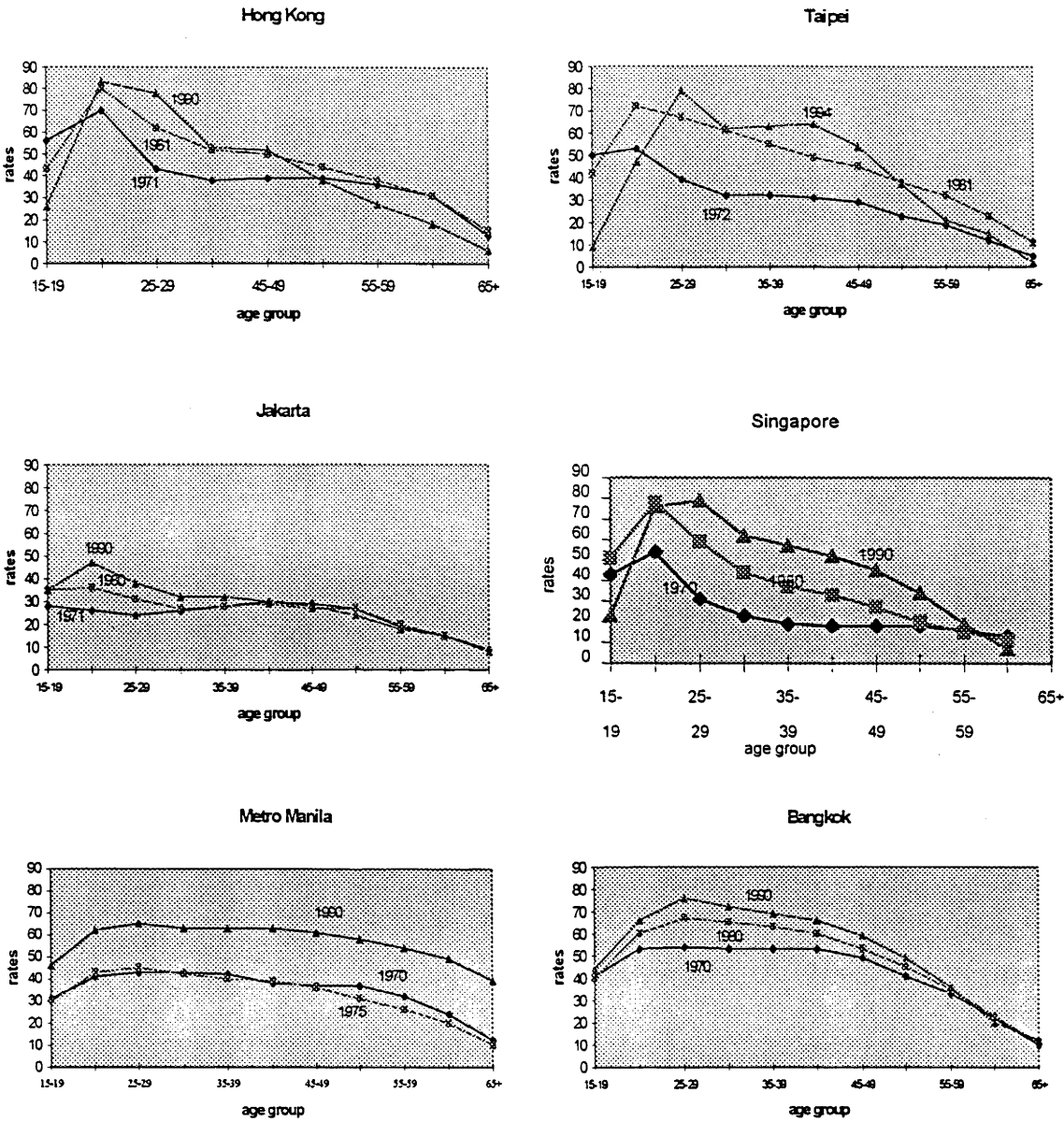
participation in East and Southeast Asian countries follow the pattern of the United States will be examined in this section as well as in section 2.2.5.

In the United States, female participation rates have not only risen markedly since 1945, but there has been a transition of age-specific female activity rates from a single peak (United Nations 1962:35) to a double-peak pattern (Standing 1982c:17) and recently to type A (US Bureau of the Census Web-site).

Figure 2-2 shows the changes in the age pattern of female labour force participation in the cities of East and Southeast Asia during the 1970s and 1990s. It shows that the pattern for Jakarta was similar to that for Bangkok where female participation rates gradually changed from type A (central peak or plateau) in 1970 to type C-1 (early peak without shoulder) in 1990. The age pattern of female participation rates in Taipei has also changed: from type C-1 to type C-2. In contrast, the pattern in Hong Kong, Singapore and Manila remained unchanged over the two decades.

Figure 2-2 also shows that the rates at most ages in Jakarta were much lower than in other cities in East and Southeast Asia throughout the period. As mentioned in the earlier section, this raises the possibility that female labour force participation is underrecorded, especially among married women.

Figure 2-2. Changes in female labour force participation rates, major cities of East and Southeast Asia, 1970s-90s



Sources : Arumainathan, 1970; Kim, 1980; China, 1994; ILO, 1975; ILO, 1981; ILO, 1992; Indonesia, BPS, 1974; Indonesia, BPS, 1983a; Indonesia, BPS, 1992c; Philippines, 1970; Philippines, 1983; Philippines, 1992; Singapore, 1993b; Thailand, 1972; Thailand, 1973; Thailand, 1980a; Thailand, 1990a.

Looking at change in female labour force participation rates by age group over the two decades, Hong Kong, Taipei, Singapore, and Bangkok followed the same pattern (Figure 2-2). Female participation rates in these cities have increased sharply among the younger age groups. As age increases, female participation rates decreases. Jakarta also show a similar pattern, although the rates was not as high as that in the metropolitan cities mentioned above.

Compared with that in Manila, female participation rates in Jakarta were much lower although the economic growth was higher than Manila. Moreover, Figure 2-2 shows that female participation rates in Manila were pushing up in all age groups. Cultural factors may be partly responsible to this fact. In Indonesia, there is an assumption that the male is the breadwinner and the female is responsible for taking care of the family. Because of this assumption, during the survey many women reported themselves as 'housewives', even though they worked outside the house. Therefore, it is not surprising that many working women in Indonesia are excluded from the survey/census because of this assumption, which then leads to the low recorded female participation rates.

#### **2.2.4. Females in the working age group**

As noted, female labour force participation rates have been increasing rapidly in the metropolitan areas of East and Southeast Asian countries. The increase has been large especially among the younger age group (less than 30 years). However, as noted earlier, in 1990 the participation rates of females in the age group 15-19 in Singapore and Taipei was much lower than that in Jakarta, Bangkok and Manila.

The pattern of change in the structure of females in the working age population in Hong Kong and Singapore is also different from that in Jakarta, Bangkok and Manila (Table 2-10). Although the proportion of young females (15-19) in all the countries mentioned above declined during the 1980s-90s, the decline was more rapid in Hong

Kong and Singapore. In 1990, whereas the proportion of young females (15-19) in Hong Kong and Singapore was five per cent respectively, that in Jakarta, Bangkok and Manila was still more than 10 per cent.

**Table 2-10. Females in the working age population by age group, Hong Kong, Singapore, Bangkok, Jakarta and Manila, 1980s-90s (per cent)**

Age Group	Hong Kong		Singapore		Bangkok		Jakarta		Manila	
	1981	1990	1981	1993	1980*	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990
15-19	13	5	16	5	17	12	22	19	20	17
20-29	40	41	30	38	34	30	35	36	36	34
30-39	23	28	19	31	23	26	20	21	18	21
40-49	7	15	14	19	11	14	13	12	12	12
50+	17	11	20	8	15	18	10	12	14	16
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Table 30.2) ; Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Table 22.2);  
Singapore (1981: Table 2) ; Singapore (1993: Tables 3, 34);  
Thailand (1980b: Table 2); Thailand (1990b: Table 1).

Note : \* municipal area

The much smaller proportion of the female population in the age group 15-19 in Hong Kong and Singapore in the 1990s reflects lower fertility rates in both countries. The youthfulness of the female population in Jakarta partly reflects the greater fertility rates compared with other metropolitan areas mentioned in Table 2-10. More recent rapid growth in urban population in the ASEAN-4 cities (Jakarta, Bangkok, Manila, Kuala Lumpur) can partly be attributed through migration of young people in searching work to the cities (Lim, 1993b:211; Phongpaichit, 1993:185).

### 2.2.5. Marital status, childbearing and labour force participation

In both developed and developing countries, married women are less likely to be in the labour force than single, widowed or divorced women. Widowed or divorced women, especially those with children, are more likely than others to work because of financial pressure (Jelin, 1982:255; Seidman, 1978:255). By contrast, the fact that many single women live with their parents in developing countries reduces the pressures on

them to find employment. The extent to which single women enter the labour force has varied substantially among LDCs, depending on employment opportunities, participation in schooling and overall attitudes to single women's work (Youssef, 1976:102-107).

There is also a considerable variation in the extent to which women leave the labour force during their childbearing period, and return at a later age. The life cycle of married women exhibits several stages which depend on the number and spacing of births, and societal attitudes (McLaughlin et al., 1988). Since the age groups of married women reflect the stages of their life cycle, different age groups can be expected to display differentials in labour force participation.

Changes in age at first marriage can also impinge on the size and composition of the female labour force. Other demographic changes, such as a decline in mortality rates that reduces the proportions widowed, changes in the proportions of marriages disrupted by divorce and changes in fertility rates, are also interrelated with changes in the size of the female labour force. The participation of single women is likely to be much lower in less industrialised countries than in industrialised countries, whereas the rates for those who are married, widowed and divorced do not differ markedly (United Nations, 1962; Standing, 1982b).

In the more industrialised countries the peak rates occur at a younger age than in less industrialised countries. This is because there are more opportunities and fewer constraints to entry to the labour force in more industrialised countries. Women tend to marry later and begin childbearing at a later age. Therefore, they spend more years in the labour force. In less developed countries, age at first marriage is lower and they bear children shortly after they get married.

In the United States the most profound change in the labour force is the increase in female labour force participation among married women. From 1890 until World War II, less than three in 10 married women were in the labour force. By 1984, 53.7 per cent

women were employed, and by 1991 the proportion had increased to 57.3 per cent (Gelles, 1995:325-326). The entrance of married women into the work force occurred in several stages. Between the 1940s and 1960s the largest proportion of married women entering the work force was older married women. In 1957, the labour force participation rate among women aged 45-49 exceeded the rate for 20-24 year old women (Oppenheimer, 1970:15).

During the 1960s, a second type of married women began to enter the workforce - the young married mother who had preschool- or school-age children. By 1980, almost two-thirds of women with children between 6 and 18 years of age were employed, and most significantly, half of those women with children under the age of six were in the labour force. In 1991, 66.8 per cent married women with children were employed. More important, 59.9 per cent of mothers with children under 6 years of age were employed in 1991 (Gelles, 1995:326).

The massive movement of married women into the labour force in developed countries in the 1950s was made possible by new labour-saving devices in the home and new inventions in industry (Oppenheimer, 1970:29-33). These allowed mothers to accomplish their dual roles, in addition to the smaller family size. In later years, the expansion of female education, availability of child care facilities, and anti-discrimination legislation all contributed to the increase in female labour force participation rates (Mincer, 1985). Increasing job opportunities in clerical and sales occupations, and rising wage rates for females, also encouraged more women to enter the labour force.

In the United States, early marriage and early completion of child-bearing were key causes of the re-entry of women to the labour force. Although other industrialised countries have undergone a similar process, the result may not be similar, because of differences in age at marriage and the age at which families are completed.

Table 2-11 shows that in Jakarta the proportion of single women in the workforce increased over time, whereas the proportion of those who were married tended to decrease. We shall see that this is a consequence of the rising age at marriage and increased employment opportunities available for young women. In contrast, the proportion of married women in the workforce in Bangkok and Singapore increased over time.

**Table 2-11. Female workforce by marital status, Singapore, Bangkok and Jakarta, 1970s-90s (aged 15+)**

Metropolitan Areas	Marital status (per cent)					Total
	Year	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	
Singapore	1970	67	26	6	1*	100
	1981	59	36		5*	100
	1993	45	49		6*	100
Bangkok	1980	50	41	4	5	100
	1990	38	50	8	4	100
Jakarta	1971	29	42	17	12	100
	1980	44	36	9	11	100
	1990	53	36	6	5	100

Sources: Singapore (1975: Table 15); Singapore (1981: Table 7); Singapore (1993: Table 3); Thailand (1980b: Table 3); Thailand (1990b: Table 2); Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 07); Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Table 03.1); Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Table 03.1)

Note : \* widowed/divorced.

Like in other metropolitan areas of East and Southeast Asia where data available, female participation rates in Jakarta was always higher for single women than that for married women (Figure 2-3). However, whereas in Singapore and Taiwan there has been a substantial increase in the participation rates of married women during the 1970s-1990s, participation rates of married women in Jakarta increased by 40 per cent during the period 1971-90. Figure 2-4 shows that the increase in female participation rates among married women in Jakarta was much lower for almost all age groups compared with that in Singapore. The sharp increase in the participation rates of married women in Singapore

reflects a delay of the first birth by young married couples, more employment opportunities for the better-educated and changing attitudes toward working wives (Pang, 1988:199).

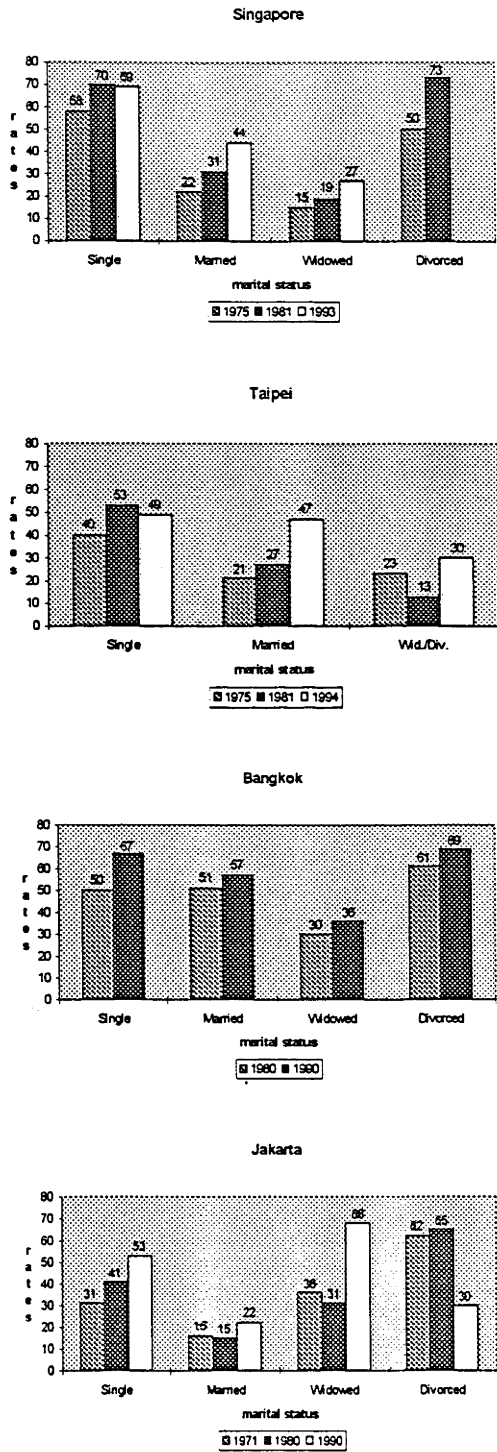
Figure 2-3 also shows that participation of married women was always higher in Bangkok (57 per cent in 1990) than in Singapore and Jakarta. As mentioned before, this was partly due to culturally favourable attitudes to women working in Thailand regardless of marital status. Therefore the censuses tend to give a higher record of the involvement of women in economic activities. This contrasts with the low rates of married women in Jakarta. As also previously mentioned, this was partly due to underreporting of married women who are economically active because of the perceptions and values regarding the proper role of women (see Chapter 3).

In both Singapore and Taiwan, the much larger increase in female labour force participation rates of married women compared with Jakarta and Bangkok was probably partly related to the much increase in education of women. As mentioned in the earlier section that education is developed much more rapid in East Asia (Table 2-14).

As in Singapore, married women in Hong Kong are also joining the labour force at a faster rate than single women (not shown in Figure 2-3). In 1971 only 32 per cent of the married women worked, compared with 33 per cent in 1976. It further increased to 39 per cent in 1981 (Ho, 1984:949). By contrast, 70 per cent of single women worked in 1971, increasing only to 71 per cent in 1981. (Unfortunately, the more recent data are not available). The increase in the proportion of married women in the labour force implies that there was a change in the primacy of homemaking as many women's major responsibility. In Hong Kong, most married women who re-entered the labour market were those with a youngest child in school to a first child leaving home (Ho, 1984:949).

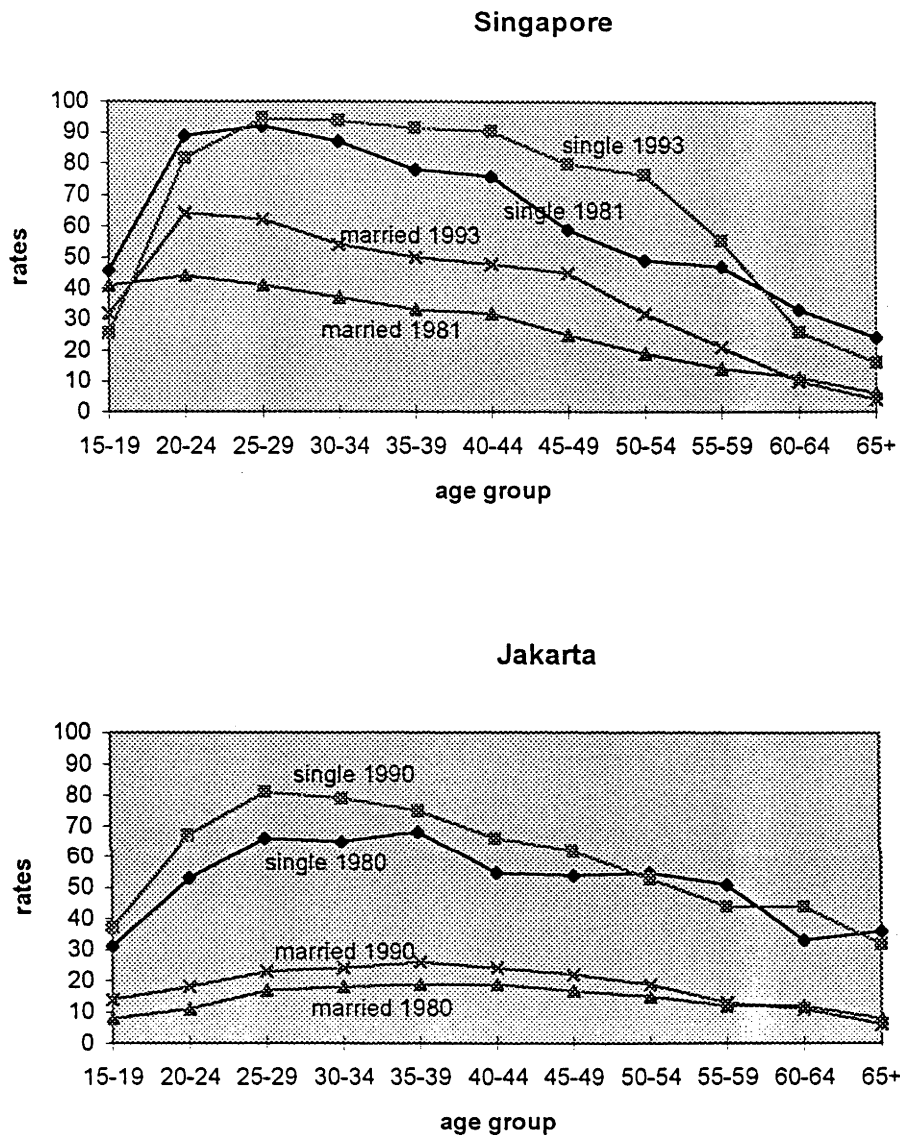


Figure 2-3. Changes in female labour force participation rates by marital status, major cities of East and Southeast Asia, 1970s-90s



Sources: Jones, 1984b; Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes; Singapore, 1975; Singapore, 1981; Singapore, 1993a; Thailand, 1980b; Thailand, 1990b.

Figure 2-4. Changing female labour force participation rates by age and marital status, Singapore and Jakarta, 1980s-90s



Sources: Jakarta, BPS (1980 and 1990 census data tapes);  
Singapore (1981: Tables 2 and 7); Singapore (1993a: Table 2).

In sum, Singapore, Taipei and Hong Kong follow the pattern of the USA and other industrialised countries where female participation rates increased substantially among young married women. By contrast, the increase in female participation rates in Jakarta occurred largely among young single women. Thailand was an intermediate case with increases occurring for both married and single women. One important issue to be addressed later in the thesis is, therefore, why was the Jakarta pattern of change so different to other East and South-East Asian countries.

## **2.2.6. Changes in female labour force participation rates and education**

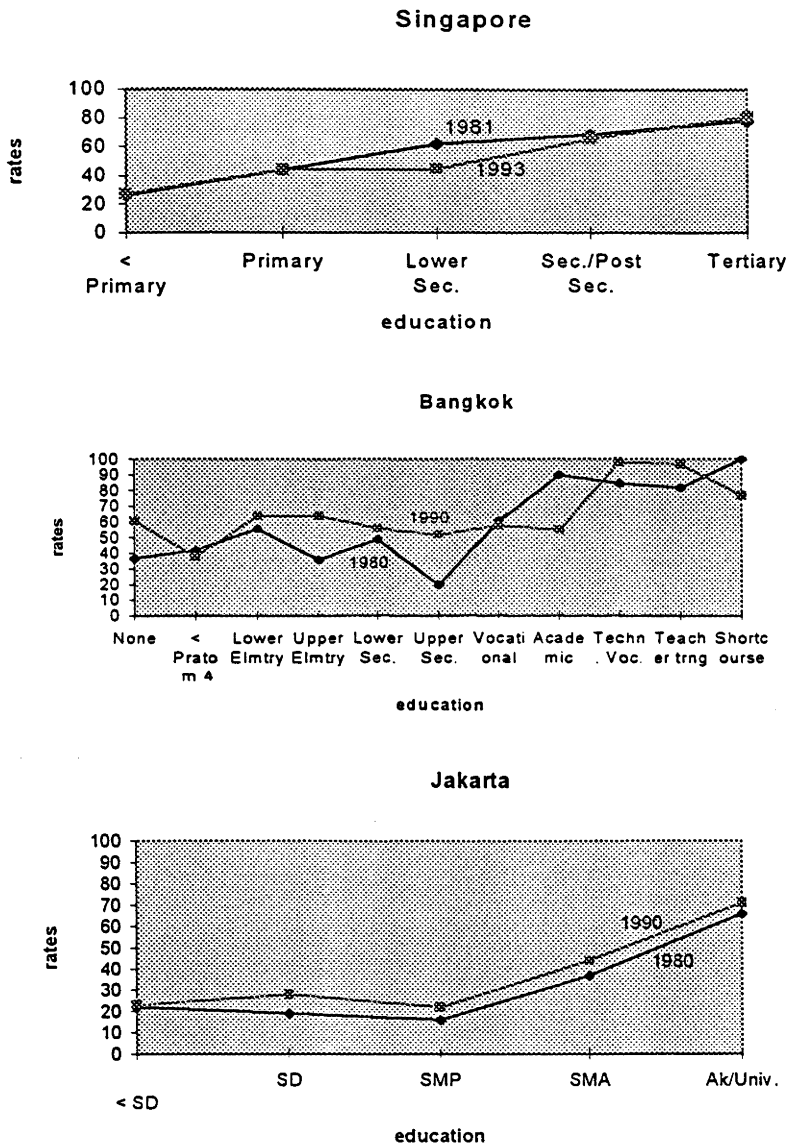
Studies of the relationship between female labour force participation rates and education have shown mixed results. Some countries have found a positive relationship between these two variables (Youssef, 1976; Farooq, 1972; Elizaga, 1974; Peek, 1978; Pecht, 1978; Khoo, 1987; Hetler and Khoo, 1987), some found a very weak positive, some a negative association (McCabe and Rosenweig, 1976), and some showed a U-shaped pattern of association (Sinha, 1967; Standing and Sheehan, 1978; Sheehan, 1978).

The mixed findings are likely to reflect the variable impact of interrelated socio-economic and demographic differences on women's work in the labour market. The negative association between female labour force participation and education may be attributed to dualism in the labour market for women, with significant differences in the relationships between supply and demand in the market for educated and non-educated women (Kottis, 1990:131). In Kottis' study, while in most areas in Greece there was a serious shortage of employment opportunities for educated women, the conditions of the labour market for uneducated women were much better. Educated women were less likely to have higher activity rates due to the relative lack of suitable job opportunities for them.

Figure 2-5 shows changes in female labour force participation rates by education in Jakarta, Bangkok and Singapore. Differences in educational categories for each metropolitan area complicate the making of comparisons regarding the relationship

between education and female labour force participation rates. Nevertheless, it is clear that each metropolitan area appears to have a unique pattern.

Figure 2-5. Changes in female labour force participation rates by education in Singapore, Bangkok and Jakarta, 1980s-90s



Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes; Singapore, 1981 and 1993a; Thailand, 1980b and 1990b.

Note : SD= primary school SMP= junior high school  
SMA= senior high school  
Ak./Univ.= Academy or University

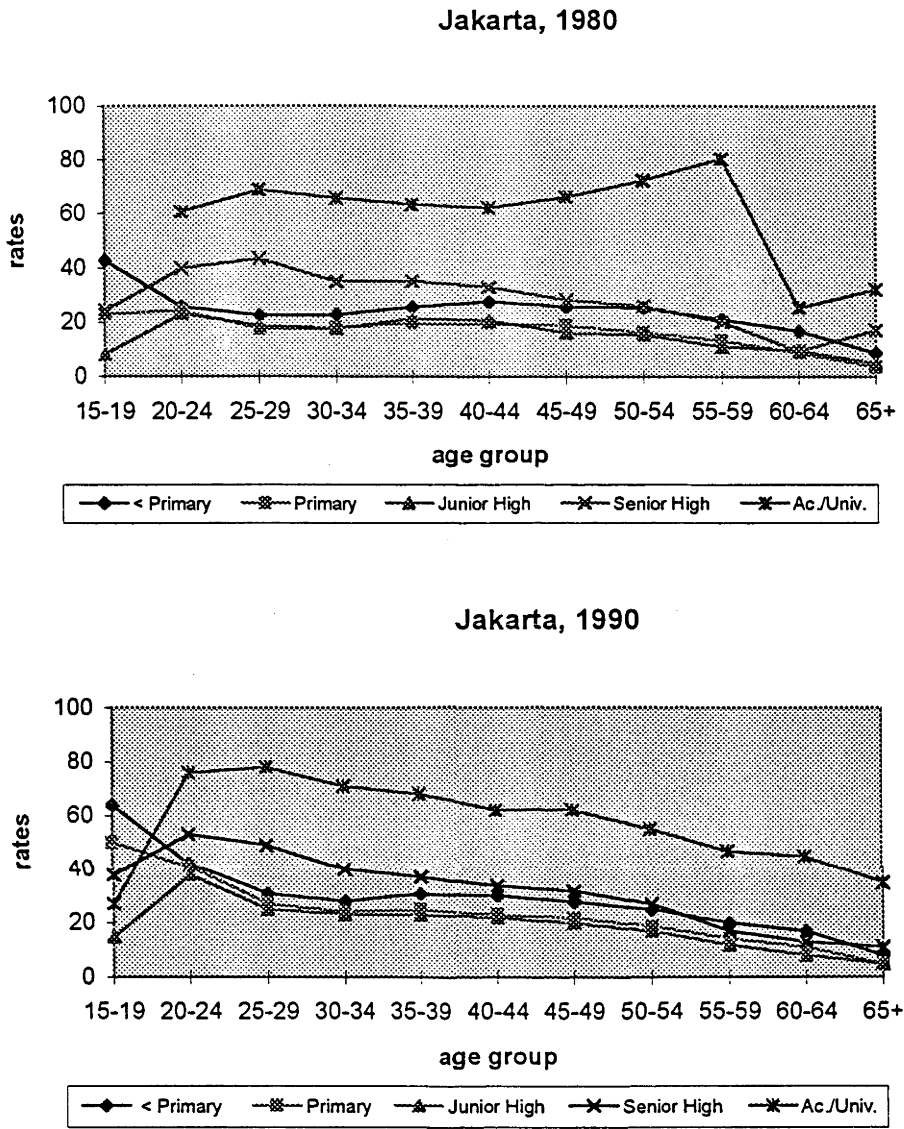
In Jakarta, the pattern of female labour force participation rates by education in 1980 confirmed a J-shaped pattern (see also Raharjo and Hull, 1984:102; and Widarti, 1992). This is because women with low level of education -as the effect of low socio-economic background- are forced to work very hard simply to survive. When wage is somewhat higher they reduce their labour supply to the market, because they want to enjoy the money they have earned. When the rise in wages is sufficiently high, a rise in wage will be accompanied by a rise in labour supply, particularly those with higher educational background. In 1990, female labour force participation rates in all educational background increased except for women with less than primary school education. This is because more and more women completed their primary school education in 1990.

The rise in the rates for those with primary school and senior high school vocational education was relatively high between 1980 and 1990. This was associated with higher unemployment rates among the younger age group (Indonesia, BPS, 1983a and 1992c: Table 24). Figure 2-6 shows that the rates for the younger age group (15-29) in 1990 was much higher than a decade earlier.

In Singapore, the association between female labour force participation rates and education seems to be positive, although in 1993 the rates for those with lower secondary education were similar to those for primary school education. In Bangkok there is no clear pattern of association between female participation rates and education.

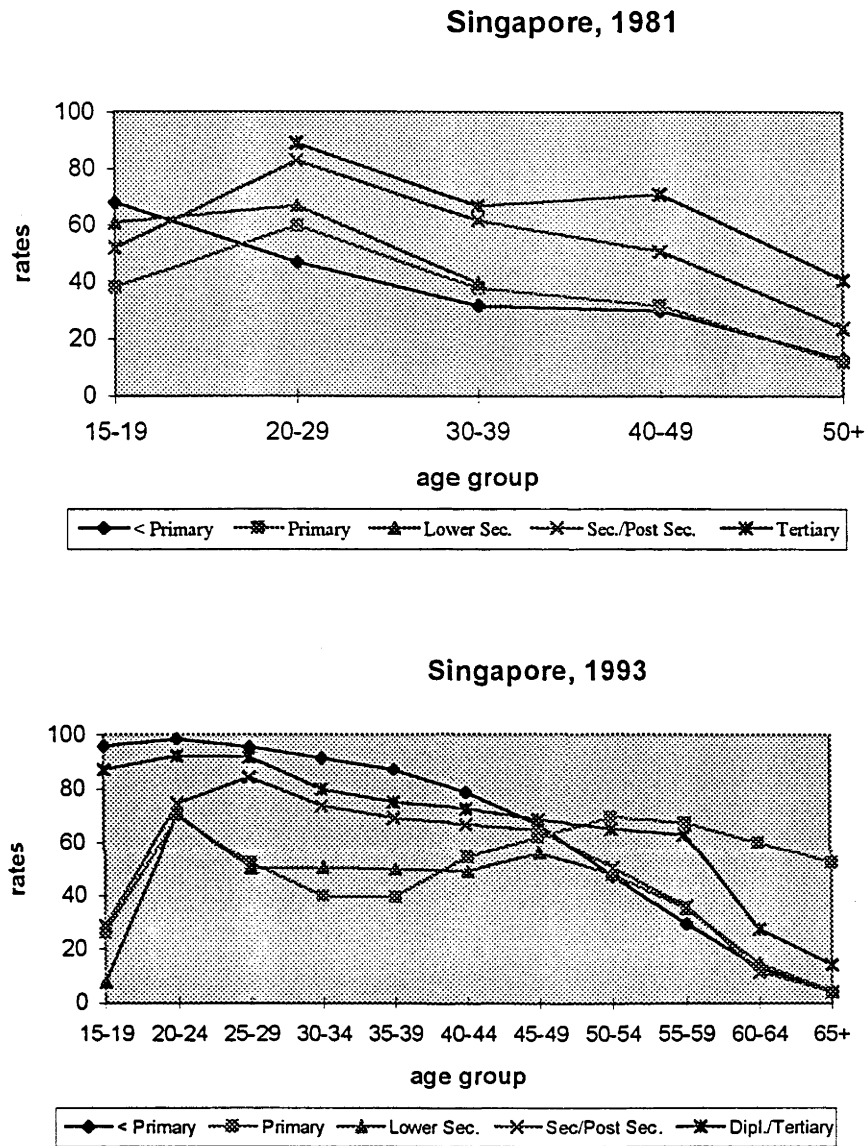
During the 1980s-1990s, there was a sharp decline among those with lower secondary education and a slight rise for those with tertiary education in Singapore. This was associated with the substantial decline in the participation rates among those in the age group 15-19 due to rising school retention rates (Figure 2-7). In Bangkok, there was a rapid increase for those with upper elementary and upper secondary education but a marked decrease for those with tertiary education.

Figure 2-6. Changes in female labour force participation rates by age and education, Jakarta, 1980-90



Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes.

Figure 2-7. Changes in female labour force participation rates by age and education, Singapore, 1981-93



Source: Singapore (1981 and 1993a).

### 2.2.7. Changes in female employment by main industry and occupation

As the economy develops, employment in manufacturing and services gain in importance, as that in agriculture decreases. In Jakarta, Bangkok, Hong Kong and Singapore agriculture is unimportant because these cities are more urban.

The pattern of female employment in Jakarta is similar to that in Bangkok, where the largest share of women to total workers were absorbed by the 'service' sector (Table 2-12). Whereas more than 40 per cent of women in Jakarta were engaged in services sector, most women in Bangkok were absorbed in trade. Although services play an important role in both Jakarta and Bangkok, its share declined between 1980 and 1990. The decline was especially marked in Jakarta. We shall see that this can be attributed to slower growth of the government sector, which employs many women. As the proportion of women working in services declined, that in manufacturing increased. The increase in Jakarta was greater than in Bangkok partly because the export-oriented strategy that favoured the employment of women started much later in Jakarta.

In contrast, the largest share of women to total labour force in Hong Kong and Singapore were employed in manufacturing (Table 2-12). However, there was a decline during the period 1980-90. In Hong Kong the decline was in absolute terms, because the manufacturing sector as a whole had contracted after 1980. The share of women employed in trade in Hong Kong increased markedly at the expense of manufacturing. The proportion of employed women in services also increased in Hong Kong and Singapore, as high value service industries such as finance and business services and government services rose rapidly (Pang, 1988:204).



**Table 2-12. Female employment by main industry in Hong Kong, Singapore, Bangkok and Jakarta, 1980-90 (per cent)**

Country	Hong Kong		Singapore		Bangkok		Jakarta	
	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990
Agriculture	2	1	1	*	6	3	*	*
Mining	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Manufacturing	52	32	38	33	24	28	15	22
Electricity	*	*	*	*	1	1	*	*
Construction	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1
Trade, restaurants and hotels	18	28	23	23	27	31	26	27
Transport	2	4	5	5	2	2	1	1
Finance	5	9	10	12	3	4	2	5
Services	20	25	21	26	34	28	54	43
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: ILO, Year Book of Labour Statistics (1980: Table 3);  
ILO, Year Book of Labour Statistics (1992: Table 3);  
Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Table 34.2); Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Table 27.2);  
Thailand (1980b: Table 11); Thailand (1990b: Table 17);

Note : \* less than one per cent.

Evidence from the industrialised and Latin American countries shows that with economic development the percentage of women in white collar occupations (professional, administrative, clerical) increased, especially in the clerical occupations. Boserup (1970:131) found a positive correlation between the stage of economic development and the percentage of women in the clerical sector.

Jakarta as well as Bangkok, Hong Kong, and Singapore also follow this pattern where the proportion of women in white collar occupations increased as their economies developed (Table 2-13). Among the white collar occupations, clerical work took the largest share of women's employment in 1990 in Hong Kong and Singapore. This is in contrast to the figure for Jakarta, where the percentage female of total clerical workers was less than 30 per cent.

**Table 2-13. Employment by sex and occupation in Hong Kong, Singapore, Bangkok and Jakarta, 1980s-90 (per cent)**

Metropolitan Areas		O C C U P A T I O N							All occupations
	Year	Prof.	Adm.	Cler.	Sales	Serv.	Prod.		
Hong Kong									
F	1981	8	1	19	8	14	48	100	
	1990	9	2	34	11	20	24	100	
M	1980	6	5	10	11	15	52	100	
	1990	7	6	11	14	16	45	100	
Singapore									
F	1980	10	2	28	11	14	34	100	
	1990	12	5	28	10	19	25	100	
M	1980	9	7	10	15	10	46	100	
	1990	14	10	8	14	10	43	100	
Bangkok									
F	1980	10	4	12	25	18	26	100	
	1990	18	3	14	23	14	25	100	
M	1980	6	12	9	19	9	41	100	
	1990	13	10	10	16	7	42	100	
Jakarta									
F	1980	9	*	12	24	38	17	100	
	1990	9	1	16	22	32	20	100	
M	1980	6	1	16	23	11	40	100	
	1990	6	2	18	23	10	40	100	

Sources: ILO, Year Book of Labour Statistics (1986: Table 3);  
ILO, Year Book of Labour Statistics (1992: Table 3);  
Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Tables 35.1 and 35.2);  
Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Tables 26.4 and 26.5);  
Thailand (1980b: Table 13); Thailand (1990b: Table 18)

Notes : Prof. = Professional occupations  
Adm. = Administration occupations  
Cler. = Clerical occupations  
Prod. = Production occupations  
Serv. = Service occupations

\* less than one per cent

Agriculture is excluded because the proportion is less than one per cent.

Table 2-14 also shows that the proportion of women concentrated in the services sector was greater than that of men in all these metropolitan areas. In Jakarta and Bangkok, women comprised the majority of workers in services (Table 2-14), but women were concentrated in lower occupational status work in the services sector because of their concentration in domestic service and the retail trade (Joekes, 1987:109). During the period 1980-90, the share of women in services has increased, as this sector became more sex segregated during the process of economic development. In Singapore, the increase in the female share of service workers in this period was remarkable.

**Table 2-14. Percentage female of total workers by occupation in Hong Kong, Singapore, Bangkok and Jakarta, 1980s-90**

Metropolitan Areas	O C C U P A T I O N						
	Prof.	Adm.	Cler.	Sales	Serv.	Prod.	All occup.
Hong Kong							
1980	41	11	51	28	36	34	36
1990	42	16	64	31	41	23	36
Singapore							
1981	38	15	63	31	44	30	35
1990	38	26	71	33	57	29	39
Bangkok							
1980	55	19	48	49	62	33	43
1990	54	20	53	54	63	34	46
Jakarta							
1980	35	9	21	27	55	13	26
1990	40	12	29	29	60	18	30

Sources: ILO, Year Book of Labour Statistics (1986: Table 3);  
ILO, Year Book of Labour Statistics (1992: Table 3);  
Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Tables 35.1 and 35.2);  
Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Tables 26.4 and 26.5);  
Thailand (1980b: Table 13); Thailand (1990b: Table 18).

Notes : Prof. = Professional occupations  
Adm. = Administration occupations  
Cler. = Clerical occupations  
Serv. = Service occupations  
Prod. = Production occupations  
All Occup. = all occupations

Agriculture is excluded because the proportion is less than one per cent in all countries.

In Bangkok, more than 50 per cent of workers in professional occupations were females (Table 2-14). Women have long been concentrated in the field of teaching, nursing and social work. These are also called feminized occupations, and are often explained as an extension to the public domain of women's domestic nurturing role. As the public sector expanded in the 1970s, women's employment in sales and clerical work also increased in Bangkok.

Table 2-14 also shows that in Bangkok in 1990, the percentage female to total workers in both clerical and sales occupations was more than 50 per cent. The share of women in the total labour force in these occupations also increased during the period 1980-90. In Jakarta, the female share of total workers also increased in professional and clerical occupations, although, unlike in Bangkok, their share was less than fifty per cent in 1990.

In the industrialised and Latin American countries domestic service was a major occupation among females in the cities during the early stage of economic development (Jones, 1993b:330). As the economy progressed, domestic services declined in importance. In the newly industrialising countries, not only the proportion but also the absolute number of women working as domestic servants declined. Jakarta did not follow the pattern occurred in the industrialised and Latin American countries. As shown in Table 2-15, the number of women employed in domestic service in Jakarta increased over time and in 1990 this occupation still ranked the first in total women's employment (see Chapter 7). Table 2-15 also show that the increasing number of women engaged in domestic service was also found in Manila. In contrast, in Singapore, Seoul, Taipei and Bangkok, after the 1970s domestic service also declined in importance as a major occupation for women (Jones, 1984b:48).

**Table 2-15. Women employed in household service in metropolitan areas of East and Southeast Asia, 1970-90**

Metropolitan areas	1970		1980		1990	
	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent
Singapore	21,826	14.2	15,781	4.3	n.a.	n.a.
Seoul	90,297	20.5	44,539	5.7	n.a.	n.a.
Manila *	146,234	29.3	195,312	31.9	230,492	n.a.
Bangkok *	45,099	10.0	n.a.	8.0	86,907	7.0
Jakarta	75,517	29.0	154,424	31.0	218,127	25.0

Sources: Jones (1984b: Table 2.11), Thailand (1990a):  
Indonesia, BPS (1980 and 1990 census data tapes)

Notes : \* including cooks  
n.a. = not applicable.

The fact that the proportion of women working as maids does not decrease in Indonesia is because Indonesia has not been in industrialising stages. Rising income means that more households can afford to hire maids. However, in the coming fifteen years, the proportion of household maids may decline because of the relatively cheaper electronic equipment and the rising 'protection' for female workers, including maids. The demand for maids may decline as the maids become much more expensive. Unfortunately, the maids may not find jobs in formal sectors as firms shifts to more capital intensive and skill intensive technology. These maids will have to find works in other informal sector.

## Conclusion

East Asian countries have experienced high economic growth, particularly during 1970-80s. Economic growth in these countries was higher compared with that in Southeast Asian countries. This tends to lead to the expectation that female participation rates would also be higher in East Asian countries compared with those in Southeast Asian countries. In fact, this was not the case. Female participation rates was higher in Southeast Asian countries, except in Indonesia. This suggest that there were other factors which play an important role in contributing to female participation rates, which include women's educational level, deeply ingrained cultural attitudes about appropriate roles for women.

The slow increase in female participation rates in urban Indonesia may be partly due to the later stage of industrialisation compared with other Southeast Asian countries, and partly because of perceptions about the role of women. The latter lead not only to lower actual rates of workforce participation, but also to underreporting of women's economic activities. These issues will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

Whereas Singapore and Hong Kong followed the pattern in United States, where female participation of married women grew faster than that of single women, in Jakarta participation has increased slowly. The following chapters will discuss the changing roles of females and changing female participation in the labour force in Jakarta.

## **Chapter 3 : Changing Roles of Women in Urban Indonesia**

As mentioned in the previous chapter, female labour force participation rates in Jakarta were the lowest compared with other metropolitan areas of East and Southeast Asia, to a degree that is hard to determine. This might be partly because the perception of work and the effects of this on reporting of women's work leads to underrecording of women's economic activities in the Jakarta census. According to traditional Indonesian values, women are responsible for domestic duties and taking care of the children. These values have been incorporated in the state ideologies, and may lead to the underrecording of the number of women participating in economic activities.

In this chapter, I will examine women's roles in the social and economic spheres in urban Indonesia and values regarding women's proper role. Values adopted in the state ideology will also be discussed.

### **3.1. Women's roles in the economy**

The important role of women's participation in economic activities has long been recognised, particularly among the lower socio-economic groups (Geertz, 1961). Many studies found that most women from lower socio-economic classes were involved in income-generating activities and worked nearly all their lives (Hull, 1979; Hart, 1986). Moreover, it is common for lower-class women to return to income-earning activities soon after childbirth, particularly if there are children in the 6 to 9 year old age group in the household to take care of the younger siblings (Hart, 1986:128; White, 1976; Hull, 1976).

Women in this group have no choice but to be involved in income-generating activities because of economic necessity. Often they need to be engaged in more than one occupation to fulfill the household needs. This is confirmed by Jellinek (1991:86) in her study on a poor *kampung* in Jakarta, who states:

As the income was unreliable and inadequate, Tukirah continually looked for other chores. She carted drinking water, carried goods from the market, helped dice food and served as a broker between the *kampung* dwellers and the pawnshop.

Jellinek (1991:83) also found that women in lower socio-economic classes who are engaged in *kampung* services often moved from one activity to another depending upon what their neighbours required. The demand for these services were occasional, performed only a couple of times each week or month:

One day a *kampung* dweller paid for his clothes to be laundered, food to be cooked or goods carted from the market, the next day when short of cash, he or she did these chores.

The study also found that only a few women who run the kiosks operate them continuously. Most women in the *kampung* traded until they ran out of capital and then started up again when they had enough capital to run the stall.

A study on the informal-sector found that women were involved in this sector because they are forced to work, since their husband's income is not enough and irregular. Other women were forced because their husband was disabled, sick or needed to take care of the children (Djamal, 1996:236).

Women in Java have also been recognised by scholars for their economic power in the household by controlling family finances (Geertz, 1961). In most Javanese families today, no matter what her social class or occupation, the wife is the one who manages the household budget. Therefore, when the husbands' income is not enough the wives are the ones who make money to cover daily needs. Djamal's study (1996:233-234) found that women workers in the informal sector generally control the household budget. Their income is used for daily needs, such as food and children's transportation to school,



whereas the husbands' income was usually used for non-routine expenditure, such as school fees, house contract payments, clothes and snacks. Because the income from informal-sector fluctuated every day, the daily expenditure was adjusted according to the woman's daily income. For example, when her income is enough to buy proper food, the family will eat a proper meal, but when her income is smaller, the family will not have a proper meal.

### 3.2. Values regarding women's roles

In the Netherlands Indies, women from high socio-economic status were brought up on a mixture of Javanese and Western values. The role of women during this period was to support her husband and to oversee and stimulate the development of their children. To fulfill these roles, women from high socio-economic group mostly were given a reasonable education.

In the post-colonial period, a different role was expected from women. Circumstances had changed and wives were needed to earn all or part of the income. In many cases, the husband's jobs had ceased to exist, or the men were too old to adapt to the new form of government. Many women worked outside the house, particularly in trade.

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century an ideology on the role of women was developed, which was related to the 'mother' concept. This ideology, which sanctions any action provided it is taken as a mother who is looking after her family, a group, a class, a company or the state, without demanding power or prestige in return, is also called *Ibuism* (Djajadiningrat-Nieuwenhuis, 1992:44). Thus the role of *Ibu* became more than that of a mother who feeds and looks after her children. But also the new Indonesian society called upon the kaum *Ibu* to put their shoulders to the task of building a new national state. The extended mother role is conceptualised in various contexts ranging from the level of the individual person and family to that of the state. As an *ibu*, a woman

should look after not only her own children's well-being but also that of younger relatives in general. If she owns a business she is an *ibu* to her employees (Jordaan and Niehof, 1982 in Niehof, 1998:245).

Class and *ibu* performance are closely related. For poor women who have no other dependents than their own children, the *ibu* role is restricted to being a good mother to their children. At meetings of the 'Family Welfare Movement' (Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga=PKK), women will be called upon to act as *kaum ibu* at the local level and to take part in local development activities. They are expected to do this disinterestedly. The honour they could gain was that of being a good *Ibu*. Among the wives of the elite traditional Javanese families, the role of the *ibu* was and is to safeguard the prestige of the family and the *priyayi* class as a whole, not only by observing the correct etiquette and maintaining the network of social and kinship relations, but also by acquiring the material means necessary for keeping up the desired lifestyle.

The value that woman's place is at home was carried on until the 1980s with certain implications about economic status: a non-working wife is an indication that her husband can afford to support her and the family. Hull's study (1979) also found that the fact that many middle- and upper-class women do not participate in the labour force is because of the very limited number of jobs available to women that are suitable to their qualification and 'family status'.

Traditional values hold that taking care of the children is women's primary responsibility. The motherhood role is perceived as a conflict between work and raising children. There are some cases where wives are not allowed to work by the husbands because of the perception that mother's duty in life is taking care of and educating the children (see Hull, 1979; Raharjo and Hull, 1984). Hiring household maids is often considered not desirable either, because of the perception that they could bring negative

influences on the children<sup>1</sup> (Raharjo and Hull, 1984). Therefore, many women do not work in order to take care of the children properly.

A study by Raharto (1992) in Pasar Rebo, Jakarta, found that most married women were housewives; more than twice the number of employed women. Further, 59 per cent of housewives had not worked before. The most common main reasons given for not being involved in the labour force were family related; women were too busy with household tasks or because their husbands did not allow them to work. She found that among housewives, work decisions were generally decided by their families, particularly their husbands. In most cases, women could not individually decide about their work activities, but followed family decisions which largely represented male family member's decisions. In situations where economic pressures were apparently not perceived as a factor in women's work decisions, housewives who were not working at the time of the survey for family reasons, appeared to be responding to a general perception by their family that household work was a more appropriate role for women. This suggests that social values of their families restricted their participation in the labour market.

Not only the housewives, but also many women who participate in the labour force are also restricted by the values about women's proper role. A study by Susanti (1996 in Hendrarso, 1996) found that in East Java the husbands in general prefer their wives to work part-time. Forty seven per cent of the women respondents stated that they are not allowed by their husbands to work until late afternoon. This is because the husbands consider that wives' main responsibilities were taking care of the household, therefore, they were afraid that if they let the wives work for long hours, the household responsibilities would be neglected.

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<sup>1</sup> Mothers often complain about their household maids who often influence their children to use 'bad words' when they speak. There was also a case where the maid gave a sleeping pill to the child because the child keep on crying.

The values on maternal roles are also strongly held among the husbands of women politicians. A study on women politicians <sup>2</sup> in Surabaya (Asfar, 1996:14-15) found that although husbands support their wives in their involvement in politics, some of them are concerned that their wives cannot fulfil their duty as housewife. In his study, 90 per cent of husbands supported the wives' activities in politics, and only 10 per cent did not always do so. However, when asked whether the husband did not agree with (*keberatan*) the wives' activities in politics, 12 per cent and 22 per cent stated they were '*keberatan*' and '*sometimes keberatan*' respectively, and 66 per cent claimed '*not keberatan*'. The findings further show that for those whose husbands were *keberatan*, 65 per cent of the respondents stated that the reason was that the husband perceived that their political activities consumed too much of their time. Therefore the wives did not have enough time to take care of the household. Moreover, 24 per cent of the respondents claimed that the reason their husbands *keberatan* of their political activities was that the respondents do not have enough time to take care of the children because of involvement in political activities.

Another study which also showed a similar attitude toward working women is shown by Gunawan (1992).<sup>3</sup> The study shows that almost all husbands '*tidak keberatan*' (did not object) to the wives' working outside the house, as long as women could manage the time with household responsibilities (51 per cent) or not work outside the house during the night (39 per cent). However, this does not mean that the husbands fully supported their wives' careers. The study revealed that 85 per cent of the respondents had husbands who fully supported their career. A study by Ihromi (1990 in Hasibuan-

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<sup>2</sup> 72 per cent of the respondents aged 46 years and over and 68 per cent of the respondents' husbands were employed in civil service or military

<sup>3</sup> The study was based on a questionnaire which was distributed to the *Femina* (the first women's magazines after the New Order) readers, the middle and upper class women and was conducted in 1985

Sedyono, 1996:221) suggested that men do not mind wives working outside the house as long as it is not their wives. This is shown by a study which found that of 95 per cent of middle-class men, most of them gave a positive response to a statement: 'Married women can work outside the house', whereas in fact only 40 per cent of their wives were working.

As a result, it is not surprising that we can still find many women, especially in the older age group in urban Indonesia, who do not work outside the home because of the traditional values regarding roles of women.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, in the case of Jakarta, the distance from home to workplace and low wage rates for women are often viewed as not worthwhile for women to enter paid jobs.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, some women are quite happy and satisfied with being a housewife, serving their husband and children and doing things for others. A study (Sitepu, 1996:255) found that family background (husband, in-laws, uncle, aunt, parents) plays an important role in influencing women to the decision, or condition, to be housewives. Traditional values which are inculcated by the mothers and extended families from very young ages on both sexes greatly influenced their perception of the roles of mothers later when they eventually build a family. A housewife in Sitepu's study (1996:256) stated that she was raised with the values that a good mother is a mother who is always at home, raises children and serves the husband well. Her mother had taught this value since she was very young.

On the other hand, because of the traditional values on the maternal role, working women often feel guilty that they cannot take care of the family properly because of their long absence in the workplace. For example, a working woman said that when her children were still small, she woke up at five in the morning in order to prepare her

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<sup>4</sup> Personal communication with Mrs. Detik Sukarno

<sup>5</sup> Personal communication with Mrs. Detik Sukarno

husband's and children's favourite food herself. She mentioned that this partly reduced her 'guilty feeling' of working outside the house for long hours (Hasibuan-Sedyono, 1996:220-221).

The strong values that a woman's place is at home to take care of the family can partly be seen from the different attitude between single and married women among the civil servants. An observation by the General Secretary of *Badan Pengurus Pusat Himpunan Pembina Sumberdaya Manusia Indonesia* (Central Administrative Board for the Promotion of Human Resources) found that women civil servants who are still single are energetic, productive and keen on challenging work, but this positive attitude tends to decline when they get married (Infobank, 1993). The traditional values of maternal roles also prevents women from considering their work as a means to achieve a career. A study conducted by *Femina* magazine in 1989 showed that the most important achievements of women were (thought to be) successively: children, marriage, and husbands' career<sup>6</sup>.

Because of the traditional values on the maternal role, women's magazines and newspapers often show how working women gave priority to their families, despite their numerous activities outside the home. *Warta Ekonomi* (1993), an economic bulletin, in a special issue on professional women also emphasised how these women still give full attention to the family despite their activities as professionals. One of the articles mentioned that professional women prefer to go home directly after work because of household responsibilities, particularly taking care of the children. This economic bulletin also emphasised how a professional woman gave greater priority to the education of her first-born child than her own career by quitting the company she used to work in a province in the outer island of Sulawesi and moving to Jakarta. Rae, the director of a well-known company, was described as a woman who gave more priority to the family

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<sup>6</sup> The respondents were the readers, who were mostly middle- and upper- class women in urban areas of Indonesia.

because she decided to work outside the home after she bore three children. On the other hand, Widarti Gunawan, editorial manager of *Femina* magazine, perceived herself as not a good mother, because she didn't have enough time to attend the children.<sup>7</sup>

Because of the strong values about the proper role of women, some women decided to do home-based or part-time work, and this work was often directed toward the goal of purchasing a particular item (Raharjo and Hull, 1984:118). The types of work involved are food catering, brokering, and sewing on order.

Raharjo's study (1978) also showed that many husbands in Jakarta did not know that their wives were involved in economic activities. These husbands stated openly that their income was only enough for half a month, but they had no idea how their wives could manage household expenditure. Nevertheless, when the wives were asked, they stated that they were involved in income-generating activities which were mostly carried out at home. The contribution of women who participate in income-generating activities to the household income is substantial. However, most of them did not wish to claim their activities as work, but as just temporary helpers (see also Djamal, 1996).

A study in urban Yogyakarta shows that women who join the labour force even stated themselves to be 'housekeepers' (Sullivan, 1994:33). This reflects the strong values which assume that the main breadwinner is the male and that woman's primary role is to take care of the household.

Other studies in Jakarta also show similar results where women who participate in the labour market do not consider their income-generating activities as 'working'. A Jakarta study (Papanek, 1980:68) found that 12 per cent of working women were involved in informal income-generating activities. Among those who were reported as housewives, 30 per cent were involved in income-generating activities which were mainly

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<sup>7</sup> Assegaff (1993:90) suggests that professional women are facing a dilemma. On the one hand, they wanted to develop their talent, but on the other, they are expected to take care of the family.

home-based, such as food catering, brokering (selling on commission), sewing on order, haircutting (salon), and giving private lessons. A study on women in the informal sector conducted by PPSW (*Pusat Pengembangan Sumberdaya Wanita* or the Centre for Women's Resources Development), Jakarta (in Djamal, 1996:232) found that 80 per cent of all the respondents (147 women) said that they are just assisting their husbands' when they were asked about their economic activities. When probed further, assisting husband meant involvement in informal sector such as small-scale trading, laundry services or other household industries. Moreover, some women who stated their activities as housekeeping were in fact involved in income-generating activities, such as making cookies which were sold in neighbours' foodstalls. The study found that the proportion of women who were solely housekeepers was 20 per cent. Furthermore, 70 per cent of women involved in the informal sector had more permanent income than their husbands, and a few even have higher income than their husbands.

However, as women become more independent, especially in the younger age group, many of them decided to work for income. Nowadays, having a job is considered as a 'status'. Education is gradually becoming perceived as a ladder to enter paid jobs in the modern sector. Some women from the middle and upper-classes in Jakarta decided to work in order to attain the required standard of living in Jakarta.

Traditional values regarding women's roles are also revealed from TV through the propaganda program as well as the themes in *sinetron* (*sinema elektronik*, which is a television drama resembling the commercial cinema and is produced by the government-owned television system).<sup>8</sup> Most of the *sinetron* productions show that a good woman is a woman who primarily takes care of the household, even if she has other responsibilities

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<sup>8</sup> This television program has been running for about 10 years and was inspired by the soap operas which are very popular in other countries (Aripurnami, 1996:250)



outside. In these program, women who are pursuing a career are likely to be made out to be bad women (Aripurnami, 1996:252).

Statements by high state officials (among others, the Minister for Education and Culture, the wife of the Minister for Religious Affairs, the Minister for Social Welfare) restated the importance of women's domestic duties. In a speech to wives of state officials, Mrs the late Tien Suharto, wife of the President, declared: 'A harmonious and orderly household is a great contribution to the smooth running of development efforts. It is the duty of the wife to see to it that her household is in order so that when her husband comes home from a busy day he will find peace and harmony at home. The children, too, will be happier and healthier ' (Manderson, 1980:83). This statement emphasizes the separation of a domestic sphere from a public sphere where the husband operates. It asserts that women have primary responsibility for the domestic sphere. In an interview, Mien Sugandhi, Minister of Women's Affairs, stated that women's resources were as workers and partners in supporting the family (*Warta Ekonomi*, 1993:40).

A new role model is gradually emerging in the society now, especially the urban middle-class. It is the role model of the 'modern housewife'. This is shown in women magazines which contain pictures of attractive, mature women, articles on women's issues and matters of general interest, recipes, in much the same way as women's magazines elsewhere in the world do. Television programmes feature well-dressed women with their good-looking husbands and healthy children who seem to have no worry in the world. This new role model of the modern housewife was noted by Rudie when, after an absence of twenty years, she returned to Kelantan, Malaysia in the late 1980s. She says of women aspiring to this new role: "Their role as resource person is reduced, and tends to become restricted to reproductive preoccupations with the nuclear family. These women fill their time with housework of a new standard (Rudie, 1994 in Niehof, 1998:246). Their role becomes centred on food preparation: "When women lose recognition as providers, the

women-food link changes in character. Instead of being responsible for the whole chain of production as well as preparation of food, the women become responsible for preparing it only.” (Rudie, 1995 in Niehof, 1998:246). The fact that women express a strong wish to have their own income should be interpreted as their seeming ‘to be trying against some odds to continue an established pattern of economic productivity and relative autonomy’ (Rudie, 1995 in Niehof, 1998:246).

### **3.3. The role of women in Islam**

Nationally recognised Islamic leaders in Indonesia affirm that women’s primary duties are to be wives and mothers, although there are variations in the discourse on these matters (Whalley in Blackwood, 1995). In an article on the status of women in Islam, an Indonesian Muslim scholar and intellectual of the modernist school of Islam stated, ‘Man is suited to face the hard struggles of life on account of his stronger physique. Woman is suited to bring up the children because of the preponderance of the quality of love in her. While the duty of breadwinning must be generally left to the man, the duty of the management of the home and the bringing up of the children belongs to the women’ (Raliy, 1985:36). Moreover, the Koran mentioned that the man is the ruler of the people of his house and the woman the ruler of the house of her husband. The Indonesian Marriage Law of 1974 follows this Islamic view quite closely, stating that ‘the husband is the head of the family and the wife is the mother of the household’.

Some Indonesian Muslim women highly placed in government and leaders of women’s organisations find no contradiction between development directives for women and the Islamic emphasis on wifely duties. In an article on ‘Women and Career in Islam’, the author, a popular Indonesian businesswoman in Jakarta, states, ‘The main duties of women are ... family affairs, including the children’s education matters. Other duties, such as social and professional roles, are additional depending upon the condition of respective families’ (Pramono, 1990:73). According to this interpretation, a woman should first

attend to her domestic duties and then work in the community, a clear echo of the state directive that women should first educate their children and provide their husbands with moral support.

Although certain Indonesian Muslim intellectuals point out that the Koran supports women's rights to work and earn their own incomes, much of the discussion concerning women focuses on their household obligations. In Muslim magazines, columns entitled 'Family and Marriage' are specifically oriented toward women (for example, *Kiblat*, an Indonesian weekly magazine). As mentioned earlier, the women's *pengajian* also often emphasised the role of women as housewives and childrens' educator. Support for women's careers 'outside the household' is double-edged, that is, it is contingent on their ability to manage an orderly home (Pramono, 1990 and Sitoresmi, 1990).

Teachings among the *Betawi* people (the 'native' people of the Jakarta area, with some distinctive characteristics) often restrict women in going out of their house. Melalatoa (1987) found that in *majlis taqlim* (Moslem women's prayer meeting), besides reading the Koran, women are taught to spend most of their time at home. Women are not encouraged to do shopping. Instead, husbands are the ones who go to the market, to guard against their wife's infidelity. Moreover, women were also taught how to dress properly, their role as children's educator, and to serve their husband. Therefore, it is not surprising that many *Betawi* women do not work.

Consistent with the strong values among *Betawi* men that an ideal woman is one who does not work outside the house, a study based on a marriage survey in 1978 in Jakarta (Haddar, 1982) found that married men tended to state that their wives were not participating in income-generating activities. According to the study, based on husbands' responses, 93 per cent of wives had not worked before marriage compared to 78 per cent as stated by the female respondents. Moreover, these men tend to disregard small-scale industry as a job, whereas women tend to regard it as a job. In line with this finding,

Guinness (1972) found that *Betawi* men insisted that earning income is not the task of women, and a man whose wife works is considered either lazy or too ambitious.

### 3.4. Maintaining social relations

A study in a *kampung* in urban Yogyakarta (Guinness, 1986) suggests that women in Java are mainly responsible in maintaining harmony within their families as well as with their husbands. Javanese women mediate between households with similar background, such as more or less the same socio-economic or religious background. The process of her mediation is based on an expectation of reciprocity. It is widely believed that harmonious relations can be maintained when certain social obligations are fulfilled through specific rituals and customs.

Most women in all social classes are involved in *arisan* (a rotating credit association). This kind of activity helps women in managing their husband's income. Whereas among the lower socio-economic class, *arisan* is often an important method of saving money, among the middle and upper class, *arisan* is more of a way to win some expensive household items (Murray, 1991:79; Manning, T.M., 1996:34). Therefore, among the lower socio-economic class, *arisan* mainly involves winning cash, while among the middle- and upper-class, *arisan* can involve expensive household goods such as dinner sets, table cloths, bed spread, kitchenware set, etc. Among the low-class group, women who need money urgently can borrow in advance on the winnings. In most groups, there is a co-operative spirit and in an emergency women swap places so that someone can 'borrow' the funds.

A woman whose husband is working as a civil servant automatically becomes a member of *Dharma Wanita*, the largest women's organisation run by the Indonesian government. Activities included in *Dharma Wanita* are mostly related to the domestic domain: health, nutrition, beauty, sewing, family planning, how to take care of the

children, flower arrangement, catering, or programs promoted by the government such as illiteracy eradication (Buchori and Soenarto, 1996).

Another social activity which is also established by the government is called *PKK* (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*=Family Welfare Program). *PKK* is a voluntary organisation and the main channel used by the state to reach women at the grass-roots level (Royal Netherlands Embassy, 1987 cited in Blackwood, 1990). A study in urban Yogyakarta found that professional women usually do not participate in this organisation directly, but make financial contribution and are sometimes involved as advisers (Manning, T.M., 1996:45). In Jakarta, women who participate in *PKK* are mostly those who do not work outside the house. Like *Dharma Wanita*, activities of the *PKK* are closely related to women's issues and supporting government programs, such as family planning, health, nutrition, sewing, and cooking competitions.

*Pengajian*<sup>9</sup> (Koranic recitation meetings) are quite popular among Moslem women in urban areas. Marcoes (1992) suggests that *pengajian* are the social activity involving the largest number of women and is the only activity reaching all women from the lower to the upper class. This activity is usually conducted every week and is held either in the mosque or in one of the member's houses (in turn).

Besides religious instruction, members may organise a lottery (*arisan*) together, or sell each other goods, which may be paid for either in cash or by instalments without interest. In her study, Marcoes (1992) suggests that the reason women come to these meetings is to give them a rare opportunity to leave the house and meet other women, especially for those who are not working, to gossip, exchange news and to enjoy themselves. The issues raised in the meeting are interpretation of the Koran. Duties which are often emphasised include the running of the household, the raising and education of

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<sup>9</sup> In *Betawi*, *pengajian* which is only for women is called *majlis taklim*.

children, health, family economics and most important of all, service to husband (Marcoes, 1992:222).

Women also play an important role in *selamatan*<sup>10</sup> (ritual ceremony involving the consecration of food and its distribution). This is because women often come to the host's house with a contribution of cash, rice or other food and are involved in the preparation of the feast. In rural areas, the preparation often starts days before the formal ceremony is held. On the other hand, men's contribution is limited to participating in the short religious ceremony in which prayers are said over the food and making polite conversation (Sajogyo, 1980,V:40). During the ceremony women remain behind the scenes (*mburi* or in the kitchen) and make sure that the ceremonies are performed well. They are involved in the preparation of food, while men are the ones who perform the actual ritual and eat the food prepared by the women. A study among the poor community in Jakarta (Murray, 1991:79) found that *selamatan* is only held among the upper socio-economic group of the community, because the poor cannot afford it.<sup>11</sup> However, among the middle-upper class group in Jakarta, involvement of women guests in the preparation of food is less frequent as the hosts find it more practical (and can afford) to order the food from caterers. Moreover, the religious ceremony is often led by women or men *ustad* (Moslem preacher) from the women's *pengajian* group the hosts are involved in. Therefore, the *pengajian* group in Jakarta often played important role in the *selamatan*.<sup>12</sup> The rituals which are commonly held in Jakarta include: birth and *siraman* (one of the ceremonies before a woman gets married). During these ceremonies, men are generally not involved. Women are involved in both, arranging for the food by ordering from caterers as well as

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<sup>10</sup> *Selamatan* feasts are considered important, particularly in rural areas, because outside of the 'sphere of production relations and strictly commercial transactions ... these feasts are the major form of reciprocal interhousehold social and material exchange' (Sajogyo et al. 1980:40).

<sup>11</sup> A study in Sukodono (rural areas) also found that the upper-class households are more involved in ritual feasts than the lower-class households (Hart, 1986:126).

<sup>12</sup> Personal communication with Mrs. Detik Sukarno and Ibu Siti Chairiyah

performing the actual ritual. However, the ritual ceremony conducted by both the lower and middle-upper class is based on reciprocity - exchange of goods and/or services. These social and material exchanges are important in sustaining the common group of society upon which Javanese harmony depends. Therefore, once somebody is invited to one of the feasts or celebrations, he/she is obligated to invite the person back. Since in urban areas, food preparation for *selamatan* often does not involve female household members who are invited (because of the popularity of 'catering'), birthday parties and wedding receptions are often an opportunity to pay back invitations they have received.

Women also often carry out the ritual of visiting. Visiting plays an important role in strengthening social relations as well as continuing the process of material exchange. It serves as an opportunity during which gifts or produce (fruits, cooked food) are distributed among neighbours and kin, in the knowledge that these gifts will later be reciprocated either in kind or in other forms of help. Visiting relatives or neighbours who are sick or die are almost always accompanied by offers of help and gifts of food. When visiting is not reciprocated or not done according to common practice, gossip may arise (Manning, T.M., 1996:45) and the atmosphere of harmony is likely to break down and the parties involved are likely to discontinue relations. In situations where relatives of an immediate or extended family are facing personal disputes, visiting sometimes occurs to show solidarity.

Among the elite, women play an important part in maintaining the social network within the kingroup. Like *selamatan*, the role of kingroup is reciprocity in status and social position.

## Discussion and conclusion

Most women from lower socio-economic groups worked almost all their lives, because of economic necessity. The important role of women from these groups in economic activities has long been recognised. Among the middle and upper socio-

economic groups, the role of women in Indonesia has changed slowly since pre-war period. During the pre-war period, the role of middle-class women was to support their husband and take care of the children. After the colonial period, the mass media (such as TV, radio, newspapers, magazine) and minister's statement continued to emphasise the woman's role in domestic activity. Women were considered to be more responsible for household tasks, including children's education. The strong patriarchal values were responsible for maintaining this perception about ideal wife, mother and women. However, difficult economic conditions during the 1960s forced many women, including those from middle socio-economic classes, to work in order to increase the family income.

Because the traditional values in the society are so strong, analysis of the role of woman outside the house based on secondary data needs to be done with caution. Culture and values in the society can influence the data greatly. Moreover, the concept and definition of work used by the surveys and censuses, the way questions are asked, the sex of the respondents, the language used, and the respondent's perception about work, can all influence the data greatly.

As mentioned in the introduction, the work according to the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics (for the 1980 and 1990 censuses) is defined as those who work for profit or have earned an income in kind or money for at least one hour continuously during the past week. Often work undertaken according to this definition does not accord with actual working experience of women. Some micro studies in urban areas show that the nature of work among the low-income class is irregular; both men and women often change their jobs, depending on demand (see Jellinek, 1991; Murray, 1991). The kind of work undertaken by many middle and upper class women is not held on a long-term basis: it may be part-time work or work in order to cover a large item of expenditure (Raharjo and Hull, 1984). The kind of work they done was often 'invisible' because the business was carried out at home. Nevertheless, the amount of money they earned from such



businesses was often considerable (Raharjo, 1978). Some women deliberately stated that they were not involved in income-generating activities in order to escape from paying tax (Raharjo, 1978). However, because of the values which stress that the main duty of a woman is to take care of the household tasks, many women would claim themselves as 'not working outside the house', 'housewife', or 'working part-time', because of the assumption that the man is the main breadwinner. If we look at the Javanese culture which emphasises the role of women in the household economy and maintaining harmony with their husband and society, those answers may show therefore, that the husband's income is not enough to support the family's needs.

Another factor which may be partly responsible for the relatively low female participation rates, especially those of the middle and upper age range, relates to whether the question about the wife's work is asked to the husbands. This is likely to be the case since during the implementation of the census in Indonesia, the head of the household - who is assumed to be the man - will firstly be sought by the census enumerators. Another study by the Faculty of Economics, University of Indonesia (Haddar, 1982) showed that the proportion of husbands who stated that the wives were not working was higher than the proportion of the wives who stated themselves as not working, because of the values in the study area that stress an ideal woman is one who stays at home.

However, as we have seen, because of changing values, the proportion of women in the younger age group (15-29) participating in the work force has tended to increase over time. Low overall female participation rates in Jakarta are mainly due to the low female participation rates among the middle- and upper- age group, which suggests that traditional values are still strong regarding women's role in society.

## **Chapter 4 : Socio-economic and Demographic Change in Jakarta**

### **Introduction**

This chapter presents data on change in the socio-economic and demographic situation in Jakarta. It is important to discuss this, because change of female labour force participation in a region is influenced by change in demand and supply factors, which are related to change in the structure of economic activity and population characteristics of the region.

As a national capital, Jakarta has a special influence on women's readiness to work, opportunities and incentives. This is because economic activities are concentrated in Jakarta. As Jakarta has modernised, job opportunities in the modern sector have been increasingly abundant, which also means more incentives for women. At the same time, as women became more educated and values and attitudes favour women to enter paid work, women increasingly enter the labour force. Nevertheless, most women participate in the labour force for economic reasons. Migration also has long had a particular role in Jakarta, particularly as the capital it offers many work opportunities for women.

There are three main parts in this chapter. It starts off with a brief description of the historical development of the city. The second part deals with socio-economic change in Jakarta, particularly the effect this has had on employment, both for women and men. The third part examines changes in the socio-demographic structure of the population, aged 10 years and over, emphasising the comparison between males and females. Migration will also be discussed since it has played an important role in Jakarta.

#### 4.1. Historical background of Jakarta

The importance of trade in contributing to the growth economy of Jakarta, was associated with the role of Jakarta as a port. Jakarta's origins as a port can be traced back to about the twelfth century (Abeyasekere, 1989:4). The first permanent settlement was called Sunda Kelapa. The port's name refers to the ethnic group of Sunda in West Java region, and to the coconut palm (*kelapa*) which thrives in this coastal area. Later Sunda Kelapa developed into an important harbour town for the Sundanese Kingdom of Pajajaran.

On 22 June 1527, Sunda Kelapa was conquered by a Muslim military leader of Demak, named Fatahillah, under the order of the Sultan of Demak because of his concern about the treaty between the Portuguese and the Kingdom of Pajajaran to make use of the port of Sunda Kelapa. Since then, the city was renamed Jayakarta which means glorious victory, and 22 June is set as the date of the city's birthday.

Less than a century later the city was taken over by the Dutch by establishing the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) which was the amalgamation of several small Dutch companies. The Company played a predominant role in the survival of trade, both in its own country and in Indonesia, and was granted far-reaching powers (Jayapal, 1993:6). In 1611 the Dutch constructed a godown in the Chinese quarter in Jakarta on the east bank of the Ciliwung River, which later was fortified as Kasteel Jakarta or Jacatra (a misspelling). This was built as a protection against the English who, three years later, also established a godown opposite that of the Dutch.

In 1619 the city was renamed Batavia after a series of skirmishes involving the British, the native rulers of Jayakarta and the neighbouring state of Banten and the Dutch, followed by a city raze under the leadership of J.P. Coen (Jayapal, 1993:7). In the nineteenth century Batavia grew slowly, but towards the end of the century it was exceeded by Surabaya in terms of size (Abeyasekere, 1989:81). However, as the Dutch

expanded their control over the Indies, Batavia played an increasingly important role. They referred to Batavia as 'Queen City of the East' because the Europeans' view of Batavia was focused on the new seat of administration and European residence (Abeyasekere, 1989:48).

On 5 March 1942, Batavia was conquered by Japan and as the Dutch lost their power after 350 years of occupation: the city was renamed Djakarta (Djawatan Penerangan Kotapradja Djakarta Raya, 1955: 16). There was not much change or development of Jakarta during the occupation of the Japanese army. In 14 August 1945 they unconditionally acknowledged defeat. Jakarta was established as the capital city of the Republic of Indonesia after the proclamation of Indonesian independence, on 17 August 1945.

Not long after Indonesian independence was proclaimed, the Dutch tried to restore their power again over Jakarta and at one stage renamed the city back to Batavia. However, in 27 December 1949, they withdrew and Batavia was again renamed Jakarta and reinstated as the capital of the Republic of Indonesia.

The centre of Jakarta was established around what is known nowadays as Pasar Ikan and has spread to the south along the Ciliwung River, which is often flooded during the rainy season. Up until now, part of the old city still holds its old tradition as the trade centre of Jakarta.

#### **4.2. Social change in Jakarta**

As a capital city, Jakarta was formally created as 'Daerah Khusus Ibukota' (a special region administratively equal in status to a province) in 1964. It is the only urban province in Indonesia and the seat of the central government. It is also the home of one provincial government because it is a province by itself.

Jakarta provides a better life for many of its residents because it offers a wider range of services and also higher incomes on average compared with most other cities in

Indonesia. It has the highest income per capita and lowest poverty rate of any urban area of Java (Indonesia, BPS, 1994). Because of its role as a national capital, Jakarta leads over the other provinces in many socio-economic facilities: Jakarta had 10 times the national per capita average of cars in 1990, 5.2 times as many television sets, 3.2 times as many telephones in 1990, and sent 8.1 times as many domestic telexes (6.5 times as many international). The number of doctors per 1000 inhabitants was 4.7 times greater than in the nation, pharmacies 5 times, and hospital beds 3.3 times; university graduates were 4.1 times over-represented; and 14.7 times as many households used gas or electricity for cooking. Furthermore, in 1990, the proportion of households in urban Jakarta with expenditure Rp. 150,000,- per month and over was around 5.3 per cent, compared to 1.8 per cent for urban Indonesia on average (Indonesia, BPS, 1991).

Given the advantages of Jakarta's socio-economic environment, it is not surprising that it has attracted many migrants there from other provinces to earn a living. Jakarta's role in migration has been recorded since the early years of the twelfth century. Because of its origins as a port, it had attracted a mixture of people from other parts of the world. Arabs, Chinese and Indians had entered Sunda Kelapa for trading since then, although the contact was mostly of a transitory nature, depending on the monsoon (Jayapal, 1993).

Data from censuses show that immigration rate in Jakarta declined during the period 1980-1990 (Table 4-1). This is probably because people increasingly move to Botabek region, and not to Jakarta because the living expense is cheaper in Botabek region. The proportion of migrants from West Java would be expected to increase over time because of the proximity between West Java and Jakarta, particularly since the development of the *JABOTABEK* region. However, data from censuses show that the proportion of West Java-born migrants declined during the period 1971-90 (Table 4-2), and that of Central Java-born increased over time.

Table 4-1. In-migration rate in Jakarta, 1971-90

	1971	1980	1990
Life-time migration	40.1	40.1	38.5
Total migration	43.2	40.7	39.3
Recent migration		13.9	11.2

Source: Indonesia, BPS, 1993

Many circular migrants from West Java are unrecorded (Castles, 1989b:237) and many of them these days go to suburban areas of Jakarta located in West Java and, hence, the share of West Javanese among all migrants may well have increased. Further, as the circular migrants tend to increase over time because of greater accessibility, therefore, increase the unrecording of these group in the censuses. On the other hand, the increasing share of migrants from Central Java suggest that because of greater distance, they are more likely to be permanent migrants, and thus are more likely to be recorded in the censuses. Data on recent migrants also show a similar pattern (Table 4-2); unfortunately data for 1971 are not available.

Table 4-2. Change in major areas of origin of immigrants to Jakarta, 1971-90

Region	Lifetime migrants <sup>1</sup> (%)			Recent migrants <sup>2</sup> (%)	
	1971	1980	1990	1980	1990
West Java	42	32	27	28	26
Central Java	27	33	36	35	40
Yogyakarta	3	2	3	2	2
East Java	7	8	10	9	11
North Sumatra	4	6	6	7	5
West Sumatra	4	5	5	5	3
Other Sumatra	5	5	5	5	5
Kalimantan	2	2	3	3	2
Eastern Indonesia <sup>3</sup>	4	5	5	5	4
Overseas	2	1	1	1	2
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100
N (000)	1,822	2,593	3,170	753	833

Sources : Indonesia, BPS (1975: Table 23); Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Tables 05.3, 06.3);  
Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Tables 08.9, 10.9)

Notes : not included 'not stated'

<sup>1</sup> Based on place of birth

<sup>2</sup> Residency within the past five years; not available for 1971

<sup>3</sup> Includes Sulawesi

The gender differences in migration patterns of the employed population show Central Java to be a much more important source of employed female migrants than of employed male migrants both in 1980 and 1990 (1980 and 1990 census data tapes). Similar pattern is also observed for the smaller group of migrants from East Java. This reflect the higher labour force participation rates among female migrants from Central and East Java compared with that from other provinces in Indonesia (see also Jones, 1977).

The age structure of workers who were recent migrants is quite revealing; with similar pattern for 1980 and 1990 (Jones and Mamas, 1996: Figure 4.2.). Female migrants have a much younger age structure than the non-migrants; the majority of them are concentrated in the age group of 15-24. The concentration in these young age groups is particularly striking for female migrants from Central and East Java. Jones and Mamas (1996:65) suggest that this could reflect not only a higher migration rate at these young ages, but also higher labour force participation by young women moving to Jakarta than by older women.

The rapid increase of female migration is partly because of the many structural changes within the last two decades: rapid industrialisation, release of labour because of the introduction of new technology in the agricultural sector, the transformation caused by increased levels and changing patterns of education, increased mass media exposure, the transportation revolution, and changing values about women working outside their village.

Because of the fast growth of immigrants to Jakarta, the population density has increased very rapidly, particularly during 1971-90. Jakarta is now by far the largest city in Indonesia. Compared with other provinces in Java, the population density in Jakarta is the highest (Table 4-3). Having the smallest area (661 km<sup>2</sup>) among the provinces of Java, its population density was more than fifteen times the average for Java in 1990. Within two

decades, the population density of Jakarta has increased dramatically; from just under 8,000 per km<sup>2</sup> in 1971 to over 12,000 per km<sup>2</sup> in 1990.

**Table 4-3. Population density in Java by province, 1971-90**

Province	Area		% Population of total Java		Population density (per km <sup>2</sup> )	
	(km <sup>2</sup> )	% of total Java	1971	1990	1971	1990
Jakarta	661	0.5	6	6	7,762	12,495
West Java	46,229	35.0	28	31	467	765
Central Java	34,206	25.9	29	29	640	834
Special Region of Yogyakarta	3,169	2.4	3	3	785	919
East Java	47,921	36.3	34	31	532	678
Java	132,186	100.0	100.0	100.0	576	814

Source : Indonesia, BPS (1994: Table 3.1.2)

To limit the vast influx of immigrants to Jakarta, in 1970 Governor Ali Sadikin declared Jakarta as a closed city for immigrants (Abeyasekere, 1989:222). Only those who had an identity card, and thus could prove that they were permanent residents, would be permitted to live in Jakarta. However, the policy were not succesful since the forging of identity cards was common and many people sheltered new immigrants.

The large influx of immigrants led to overcrowding in the city. Problems such as illegal occupation of land and homelessness has occurred since President Soekarno's period of rule before 1965 (Abeyasekere, 1989:197). The street vendors are also another problem to the Municipal Council. Such activities were the main source of income for a very large proportion of Jakarta's population. According to the authorities, they cluttered up streets and footpaths and lowered the tone of the city. In 1956, the Municipal Council authorized the executive to enforce cleanliness regulations on street vendors, and after a warning, to find other suitable places for their operations (Abeyasekere, 1989). However, the municipal government's opposition towards the informal sector had little impact until 1970. By then, one of the pressing bottlenecks was lack of market space.



In the 1970s, legislation against street traders was introduced under the mayor Ali Sadikin. Many of the traders were cleared from their central-city sites (Jellinek, 1991:76). They were cleared from major market places of Tanah Abang and Senen when these were renovated and their access routes widened. Thousands more lost their sites when the central bus station at Lapangan Banteng was transformed into a park. A study of Jakartan street traders in 1976 found that 66 per cent felt their major problem was the lack of a secure and strategic trade location which was caused primarily by government harassment.

The municipal government aimed to move most traders off the streets of Jakarta and into the new multi-storey market places (Jellinek, 1991:77). However, many could not afford the higher cost of the new facilities. Furthermore, the kiosks were poorly designed, which therefore reduced the number of customers. Therefore, many traders were not interested in occupying the new kiosks although they were offered at low prices. In addition, small traders face increasing competition from the expanding shopping centres, supermarkets and minimarkets.

*Kampung* demolition also occurred as the city government's response to overcrowding and untidiness, and to replace the housing with government-owned standardised flats (Murray, 1991:95). Some houses were levelled to the ground. By 1985 there were three sets of flats built by the state housing company (*PERUMNAS*), at Tanah Abang, Kebon Kacang and Klender (Murray, 1991:95). They were intended for low-income families but are obviously unsuitable because they are too small for families, inappropriate for the lower-class household survival strategies, and not affordable by the low-income class. The flats were mainly taken over by middle-class people. Many *kampungs* have been demolished for luxury housing complexes, which were never intended to provide for the lower-class *kampung* people.

All of the policies mentioned above have affected changes in the pattern of employment and occupation among women during 1980-90 in Jakarta, which will be discussed in Chapter 6 and 7.

### 4.3. Demographic change in Jakarta

Jakarta's population has increased substantially within the last three decades. In 1961 the population of Jakarta was just under three million and had increased to over eight million in 1990 (Table 4-4). Despite the rapid increase in the number of population over time, the figure was almost certainly underrecorded. Many residents of Jakarta are not included in the census because they were not at home when the enumerators came to their place.

**Table 4-4. Population of Jakarta and BOTABEK\* region, 1961-90**

	Population (000)				Average Annual Growth (% per year)		
	1961	1971	1980	1990	'61-71	'71-80	'80-90
Jakarta	2,906.5	4,546.5	6,480.7	8,222.5	4.6	4.0	2.4
South Jakarta	466.4	1,050.9	1,579.8	1,905.0	8.6	4.6	1.9
East Jakarta	498.7	802.1	1,456.7	2,064.5	4.9	6.8	3.6
Central Jakarta	1,002.1	1,260.3	1,236.9	1,074.8	2.3	-0.2	-1.4
West Jakarta	469.5	820.8	1,231.2	1,815.3	5.8	4.6	4.0
North Jakarta	469.8	612.4	976.4	1,362.9	2.7	5.3	3.4
<i>BOTABEK*</i>	2,744.7	3,425.9	5,166.6	8,605.6	2.3	4.2	5.2
Bogor	1,257.8	1,597.2	2,493.9	3,736.2	2.4	4.5	4.1
Tangerang	817.2	1,025.7	1,529.1	2,765.0	2.3	4.0	6.1
Bekasi	669.7	803.0	1,143.6	2,104.4	1.9	3.6	6.3
<i>JABOTABEK</i>	5,651.2	7,972.4	11,647.2	16,828.1	3.3	4.0	3.8

Source : Indonesia, BPS (1993: Table 2.1)

Note : \* The districts of Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi

The population growth rate in Jakarta tended to decline during the last three decades (Table 4-4). Jakarta's average annual rate of population growth was 4.5 per cent during 1961-71 and had declined to 4.0 per cent during 1971-80, and then further to 2.3 per cent during 1980-90. On the other hand, the population in the *BOTABEK* region,

particularly the urban areas of the three surrounding kabupaten - Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi - increased at a very high rate of 15.9 per cent per annum. Jones and Mamas (1996) suggested that much of this change was caused by reclassification of areas from rural to urban in recognition of their changing characteristics. They also mention that immigration to these areas was also an important factor. More and more people who used to reside in Jakarta moved to the *BOTABEK* region since the cost of living in this region was cheaper than in Jakarta. The development of residential areas had started since the mid-1970s and many of the middle-income group resided in the *BOTABEK* region.

The recorded population growth rate in Jakarta underestimates the growth of Jakarta's functional population. Within Jakarta, the differentials in the rate of growth among different parts of Jakarta were quite distinct. During 1961-71 South Jakarta had the highest rate of growth, but it declined rapidly and during 1980-90 the growth was only slightly less than two per cent. In 1990 the highest growth was found in West Jakarta. On the other hand, Central Jakarta had the lowest growth during the three decades, and its population actually declined since 1971-80. This is not surprising given the rapidly rising cost of land in that area. Only government offices, embassies, large commercial firms, and the rich could afford to locate in central Jakarta, and many of the poor population were forced out by commercial developments.

As the development of the city moved southwards, more and more people also moved to the western part of the city. Therefore, it is likely that income-earning activities of both men and women, particularly the small-scale activities, moved to this area.

#### **4.3.1. Change in age structure**

During the three decades to 1990 the age structure in Jakarta has changed dramatically (Figure 4-1). By 1990 the population of Jakarta had moved toward an older age structure. Whereas in 1961 the proportion of population in the age group 0-4 was around 18 per cent, it has decreased to around 10 per cent in 1990. The decline of the 0-4

group was partly due to declines in fertility and probably to migration patterns. The female population was concentrated in the age group 15-24, whereas males were concentrated in the age groups 5-9, 20-24 and 25-29.

Figure 4-1. Population pyramid of Jakarta, 1971-90

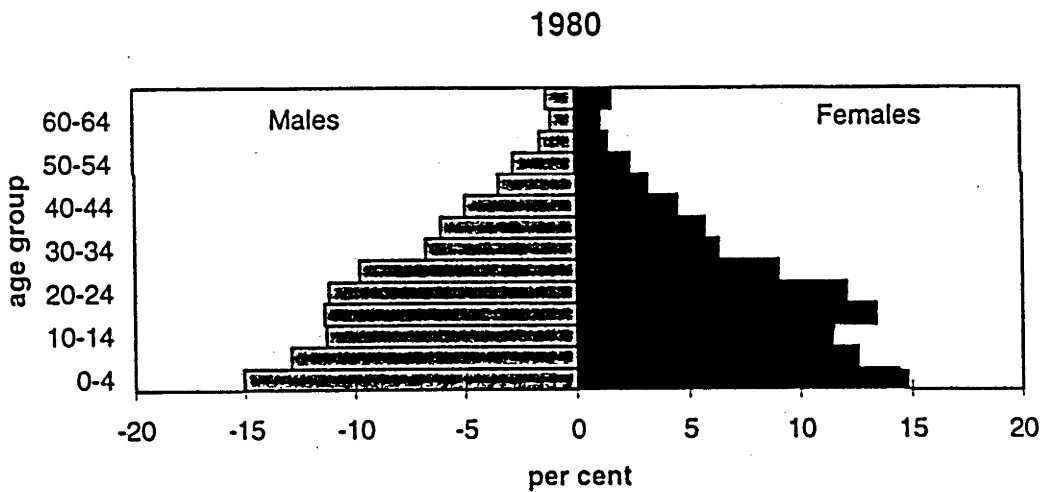
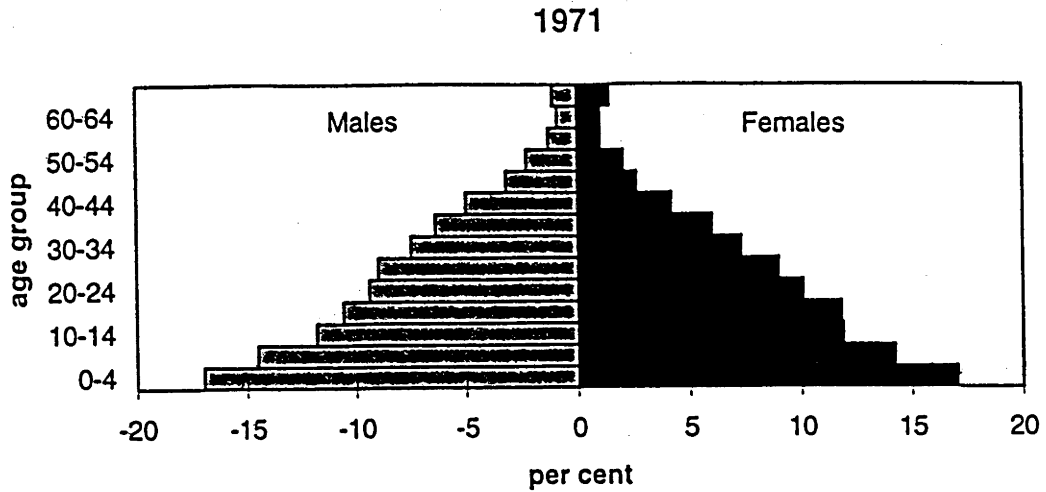


Figure 4-1 also shows that both males and females were concentrated in the prime working ages in 1990. As the proportion of population in the working age group increased, the dependency ratio decreased quite dramatically from 81 per cent in 1971 to 68 in 1980 to 50 per cent in 1990.

Labour force growth rates were much faster than population growth rates, particularly during the period 1980-90 (Table 4-4 and Table 4-5). This was a consequence of the younger age structure of the population (Figure 4-1) and rising female participation rates (see Chapter 2). However, the labour force growth rates in the last decade were not high in Jakarta compared with urban Indonesia. This is because of the slight decline in the growth for males, while female growth rates were also below the very rapid growth rates in urban Indonesia. The labour force growth rate for males in urban Indonesia was rapid, although it was not as rapid as that for females.

**Table 4-5. Labour force growth rates by sex in Jakarta, 1971-80, 1980-90**

	Jakarta		Urban Indonesia	
	1971-80	1980-90	1971-80	1980-90
Male	4.0	3.9	4.8	6.6
Female	5.6	6.3	5.5	8.5
Total	4.4	4.5	5.0	7.2

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 29), Indonesia, BPS (1975: Table 36),  
Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Table 30.2), Indonesia, BPS (1983b: Table 39.2),  
Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Table 22.2), Indonesia, BPS (1992d: Table 35.2)

**4.3.2. Change in marital status**

Evidence from other developing and Southeast Asian countries showed that marital status patterns of the female population have changed quite sharply as the economy developed. The proportion of women remaining single increased substantially, partly because of the tendency to marry later.

The marital status pattern of the female population in Jakarta has also changed remarkably (Table 4-6). The proportion of women who were single increased from 15 per cent in 1961 to 34 per cent in 1990. Moreover, the proportion of unmarried women in Jakarta in 1990 is higher compared to that of urban Indonesia. As the proportion of unmarried women increased, that who were widowed and divorced tended to decrease. Unlike for females, the pattern of marital status for males has been relatively unchanged particularly in the last two decades (Table 4-6). The pattern is also true for urban Indonesia.

**Table 4-6. Change in marital status of the population 15 years and over in Jakarta and urban Indonesia, male-female, 1961-90**

Marital status	Jakarta				Urban Indonesia		
	1961	1971	1980	1990	1971	1980	1990
<b>Females</b>							
Single	15	22	28	34	23	27	31
Married	65	63	60	56	60	58	57
Widowed	7	4	8	3	13	10	3
Divorced	12	11	4	6	4	4	9
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N (000)	843	1,284	1,959	2,799	6,019	10,210	18,619
<b>Males</b>							
Single	32	37	40	42	38	39	41
Married	65	60	59	56	59	58	57
Widowed	2	1	1	1	2	1	1
Divorced	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N (000)	894	1,306	1,992	2,807	5,840	9,970	18,096

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1963: Table 5), Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 05),  
Indonesia, BPS (1975: Table 08), Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Table 03.3),  
Indonesia, BPS (1983b: Table 03.3), Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Table 03.1),  
Indonesia, BPS (1992d: Table 03.1)

Notes : Not included 'not stated' ;  
Total may not add up to 100 because of rounding

Most of the single females and males are in the young age group (Table 4-7). The rising proportion of unmarried in this age group is attributed to the increasing number of young people staying longer at school and delaying their age at first marriage. Average age at first marriage in Jakarta increased from 20 years in 1964 to 23.9 years in 1990 (Table 4-8). This figure is quite high compared with other provinces in Java; Jakarta ranked second after Yogyakarta among Indonesian provinces, which was always ranked first.

**Table 4-7. Proportion never married among the female population 15 years and over by age group and sex, Jakarta, 1961-90**

Age group	1961	1971	1980	1990
<b>Females</b>				
15-19	55.8	68.5	78.9	91.6
20-24	16.6	26.1	35.7	55.7
25-29	4.6	8.8	15.2	23.1
30-34		4.2	7.0	8.7
35-39	2.1	3.0	3.4	4.7
40-44		1.0	2.5	3.0
45-49	1.5	1.6	1.5	2.5
50-54		1.6	2.2	1.6
55+	1.5	1.0	1.8	1.7
<b>Males</b>				
15-19	94.0	96.1	97.1	98.7
20-24	58.5	70.7	71.5	83.8
25-29	14.7	28.7	35.3	45.3
30-34	3.2	10.6	12.8	17.5
35-39		5.1	4.9	7.9
40-44	1.8	3.6	2.3	4.8
45-49		3.3	1.9	3.7
50-54	1.8	2.8	1.4	1.5
55+		2.3	1.4	1.5

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1963: Table 5); Indonesia, BPS (1973: Table 07),  
Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Table 03.3); Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Table 03.1)

**Table 4-8. Average age at first marriage by provinces, Java, females, 1964, 1971-90**

Province	1964	1971	1980	1990
Jakarta	20.0	20.2	21.7	23.9
West Java	17.4	17.8	18.5	20.2
Central Java	18.2	19.0	19.8	21.3
Yogyakarta	20.7	21.8	22.5	24.1
East Java	18.1	18.7	19.4	21.0
Java	18.1	18.7	19.5	21.1
Urban Indonesia	-	21.1	21.8	24.0

Source: Jones, 1994b: Table 3.8

The proportion of women who were divorced and widowed, which was always much greater than that for males, has decreased over time. The greater proportion of women than of men who were divorced and widowed is related to the higher life expectancy among females, traditionally large age difference between spouses, and in part reflects the fact that males can more easily remarry at older ages.

#### **4.3.3. Change in education**

In 1942, at the end of the period of Dutch colonial rule, literacy in Indonesia was estimated at only seven per cent (National Office of Overseas Skills Recognition, 1995:2). There was a segregated education system with separate institutions for Europeans, Indo-Europeans, ethnic Chinese and indigenous Indonesians. Post-primary education was the privilege of children of the nobility, senior civil servants and other privileged groups, with fewer than 200,000 Indonesian nationals enrolled in all secondary schools. Only a very few Indonesians were able to pursue the European stream, and it took between two and five years longer to complete an equivalent level of education in the indigenous stream.

In 1950, efforts to improve education in Indonesia were made by establishing a National Education Act which introduced the concept of six years of compulsory primary education and declared the state philosophy of *Pancasila* or five principles to be the basis of education.



Although physical and financial resources were lacking, the number of elementary school in Jakarta increased rapidly. The number of elementary schools in Jakarta was only 140 before the war, but in 1957 it had increased threefold (Abeyasekere, 1989:179). Because of the large number of population needing schooling, school buildings were used for teaching two shifts per day to make up for the shortage of classrooms. However, this was still not sufficient.

The aim to increase the coverage of basic education was succesful (see also Jones, 1993a:88). The proportion of both males and females in the working age group who have not completed primary school declined considerably during 1971-90, as the proportion of those with higher education increased (Table 4-9). The improvement in education was especially marked for females, which indicates that educational opportunities had become more equal over time. The pattern was also similar for urban Indonesia.

**Table 4-9. Population 10 years and over by educational level, Jakarta and urban Indonesia, 1971-90**

Education	Jakarta			Urban Indonesia		
	1971	1980	1990	1971	1980	1990
<b>Females</b>						
< Primary School	61	39	28	60	41	35
Primary School	23	30	30	24	31	29
Junior High	9	15	18	10	15	16
Senior High	6	14	20	5	11	16
University	1	2	4	1	1	3
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
N (000)	1,550	1,899	3,235	7,272	9,624	21,729
<b>Males</b>						
< Primary School	43	30	19	43	34	25
Primary School	29	29	27	30	30	28
Junior High	14	17	20	15	17	19
Senior High	11	20	28	10	16	23
University	4	4	7	2	3	5
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
N (000)	1,576	2,216	3,252	7,112	11,040	21,312

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 16);

Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Tables 05.7 and 05.8);

Indonesia, BPS (1983b: Tables 09.1 and 09.2);

Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Tables 05.4 and 05.5);

Indonesia, BPS (1992d: Tables 11.1 and 11.2)

Since the turn of the century, Jakarta had always been a major centre of higher education in Indonesia, but it increased its educational reputation in the post-independence years. The number of both government and private secondary and tertiary institutions increased rapidly (Jakarta, 1975 and 1992). Among urban provinces in Indonesia, Jakarta contained the greatest number of highly educated people in the nation (Indonesia, BPS, 1994). The well-educated used to be concentrated in Gambir and Kebayoran Baru where the well-to do lived, whereas the lower-educated people used to live on the outskirts of the city, in areas like Tanjung Priok, Cengkareng, Kebon Jeruk, Pulo Gadung and Pasar Minggu (Castles, 1967). However, nowadays the migrants no matter their educational background, are spread all over Jakarta. Many of the well-educated people reside in the fringe (*BOTABEK* region) because of the lower price of land and living cost compared with Jakarta.

The increased proportion of women enrolled in school is particularly striking at the age group 7-12 (Table 4-10). Whereas in 1961 the proportion of girls aged 7-12 enrolled in school was 66.7 per cent compared with 71 per cent for boys, from 1980 both achieved the same level (about 91 per cent in 1980 and 95.8 per cent in 1990). In other words almost all girls 7-12 were enrolled in primary school in 1990. Nevertheless, in each category above 12, the percentage of school attendance was higher for males than females.

**Table 4-10. Population 5 years and over still enrolled in school by age and sex, Jakarta, 1961-90 (per cent)**

Age group	Females				Males			
	1961	1971	1980	1990	1961	1971	1980	1990
5-6	20.5	10.9	35.9	41.4	19.5	10.5	33.8	38.9
7-12	66.7	64.9	91.1	95.8	71.0	69.0	91.7	95.8
13-15	53.4	49.1	69.3	75.7	68.2	63.1	85.0	86.9
16-18	18.9	24.0	36.3	50.1	32.5	37.8	57.9	64.7
19-24	5.1	8.8	10.1	15.2	14.1	20.5	20.0	22.3
Total	33	36	49	54	41	44	59	61

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1963: Table 25); Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 20);  
Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Table 11.3); Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Table 13.1)

## Summary and conclusion

This chapter has described change in the socio-demographic situation in Jakarta. Jakarta has changed remarkably, especially in the last decade. The large informal sector has been considered a problem since the 1950s, as one of the impacts of rapid population growth. The city planners viewed the informal sector as an anachronism which obstructed the transformation of Jakarta into a modern metropolis. Legislation against street traders, *becak* drivers, and migrants coming to the city started to be implemented from 1970. This marked the beginning of a determined effort to get rid of the informal sector from the central-city area. As a consequence, there have been changes in occupations of the informal sector workers, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Jakarta's population has become older, although the population in the younger age group is still very large. Consequently, the dependency ratio is still quite high. There has been an increase in the proportion of women in the working age group who were still single and a decreasing trend of those who were widowed or divorced; the proportion never married for those at young ages has changed substantially. The latter contribute to the higher participation rates among females.

Both women and men in the working age group are increasingly better-educated, although the educational achievement for women is still lower than that for men. However, differences in educational opportunities between the sexes have narrowed over time. Since educational qualification is a prerequisite for employment in the modern sector, more and more females can be expected to be employed in the formal sector.

The implication of changes in socio-economic and demographic factors in Jakarta for changes in employment and occupation will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

## **Chapter 5 : Changing Female Labour Force Participation in Jakarta**

It is difficult to draw conclusions from censuses on change in female participation rates in most countries. Questions as to whether the change is real or not (because of better enumeration, better quality of enumerators in the later census/survey) often arise (see Oppenheimer, 1970). These are associated with data problems. Nevertheless, one can make adjustments and, with care, draw important conclusion from censuses and national labour force surveys.

Part of the difficulty in analysing the trend of female participation rates in Jakarta is because the 1970 and 1980 censuses recorded a large proportion of those classified in the 'others' category (Jones, 1974; Hidayat, 1976 and Bukit and Bakir, 1984). This category includes those outside the labour force who are neither attending school nor housekeeping. Respondents classified in this group are the disabled or those who have stopped working for reasons of age, as well as those who do not want to work and therefore do not seek work, because they have independent means, or live with the assistance of their families. However in Indonesia the size of the 'other' group was very large especially at young ages. As a result, both male and female participation rates tended to be underrecorded in these censuses.

Since the female participation rates recorded in the 1970 and 1980 censuses were quite low, some authors have suggested different procedures for adjusting the total labour force in order to obtain more realistic estimates of participation rates (Jones, 1974; Hidayat, 1976; Bukit and Bakir, 1984). Each of the procedures of adjustment will be discussed and the one introduced by Bukit and Bakir will be applied before analysing trends in female participation rates in Jakarta.

As shown in Chapter 2, female participation rates in Jakarta increased during the period 1980-90, particularly in the young age groups (15-29). An unusual pattern found in this chapter is that changes in the participation rates of married women with no children was almost as high as that for single women. This chapter will examine what factors contributed to these changes.

The first section of this chapter will discuss the trend in the proportion of 'others' category based on various data sources, followed by analysing trends in female participation rates during 1970-90 in the second section. The last section will deal with factors which contributed to change in female participation in the labour force among the young age group in general, and married women without children in particular.

### **5.1. Trends in the proportion of 'others' category**

The proportion of 'others' category in urban Indonesia based on various data sources (censuses and surveys) can be seen in Table 5-1. It shows that the percentages of those classified as 'others' in the 1971 and 1980 censuses are much higher than in the *SAKERNAS* surveys, whereas those in the 1990 census are lower for all age groups. This reflects the differences in the consistency and quality of data between the census and *SAKERNAS* as well as among the censuses. Table 5-1 also shows that the proportion of the 'others' group was higher in the younger and older age groups. The high percentage in the younger age groups raises some questions. Earlier studies (Jones, 1974; Hidayat, 1976; Bukit and Bakir, 1984) believe that the large proportion of the 'others' group recorded in the 1971 and 1980 census is due to misclassification of unemployed and discouraged workers,<sup>1</sup> particularly among younger age groups. Korns (1987) argues that

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<sup>1</sup> The discouraged workers are defined by those who do not look for a job because they think that job is not available for them.

Table 5-1. Percentage of population classified as 'others' by age, urban Indonesia, female, 1971-90

Age	1971 Census	1976 Supas	1976 SAKERNAS	1978	1980 Census	1982 Susenas	1985 Supas	1986	1987	1989	1990 Census
15-19	11.3	5.8	5.5	3.6	2.6	6.8	8.3	8.1	6.5	9.1	8.4
20-24	6.1	3.7	2.1	1.7	0.6	4.8	7.5	6.3	7.5	10.1	6.4
25-29	3.1	1.9	0.8	0.7	0.3	2.6	3.8	2.9	3.3	4.0	2.5
30-34	2.7	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.5	1.2	2.5	2.1	2.0	2.0	1.4
35-39	3.1	1.2	1.0	0.9	0.8	1.6	1.8	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.1
40-44	5.0	2.0	1.9	1.8	0.9	1.3	2.1	1.8	1.4	1.1	1.5
45-49	7.4	4.9	3.6	3.1	2.1	2.5	3.4	2.6	2.1	1.6	2.3
50-54	14.2	7.5	7.8	7.7	7.0	7.3	7.9	8.4	5.9	4.5	5.2
55-59	12.6	18.9	12.9	13.6	12.5	15.1	15.5	15.3	12.4	9.5	9.5
60-64	19.7	24.7	25.1	24.3	20.4	24.8	30.8	32.2	26.1	22.5	19.5
All	6.2	4.7	3.8	3.3	2.5	5.2	6.6	6.0	5.4	6.1	5.0

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1975: Table 36); Indonesia, BPS (1978b: Table 01.2); Indonesia, BPS (1979: Table 01.2);  
Indonesia, BPS (1981: Table 01.2); Indonesia, BPS (1983b: Table 39.2); Indonesia, BPS (1984: Table 01.4);  
Indonesia, BPS (1987a: Table 02.2); Indonesia, BPS (1987b: Table 40.2); Indonesia, BPS (1988b: Table 02.2);  
Indonesia, BPS (1990: Table 02.2); Indonesia, BPS (1992a: Table 02.2); Indonesia, BPS (1992d: Table 35.2)

the large proportion of the 'others' group is due to the misclassification of unpaid workers. Cremer (1990) argues that in addition to misclassification of unemployed, discouraged workers, and unpaid workers, there was also a problem in how education was defined. He argues that people attending informal education and those in transition between two educational institutions can be misclassified, and contributed to the large proportion of the 'others' group recorded in the 1971 and 1980 censuses. The 'others' group at young ages may also includes a substantial number who are looking for education rather than looking for work. They have not succeeded in entering an educational institution and they are waiting for their next chance. Therefore, they would not be included in the labour force.

When the proportion of the 'others' group for urban Indonesia based on the 1971-90 censuses is compared, a small increase appears during 1971-80, followed by a sharp decrease during 1980-90 (Table 5-2). The increase during 1971-80 was found among the younger and older age group, whereas the decrease during 1980-90 was for all age groups. This pattern is also true for Jakarta (Table 5-2).

**Table 5-2. The proportion of female population classified as 'others' by age group, urban Indonesia and Jakarta, 1971-90**

Age	Urban Indonesia			Jakarta		
	1971	1980	1990	1971	1980	1990
15-19	11.3	12.4	8.4	12	13	7
20-24	6.1	8.8	6.4	5	8	6
25-29	3.1	4.8	2.5	2	4	2
30-34	2.7	3.0	1.4	2	3	1
35-39	3.1	2.5	1.1	2	2	1
40-44	5.0	3.7	1.5	3	3	1
45-49	7.4	5.5	2.3	6	6	2
50-54	14.2	10.6	5.2	11	11	5
55-59	12.6	16.9	9.5	16	18	9
60-64	19.7	30.8	19.5	24	32	18

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 29); Indonesia, BPS (1975: Table 36);  
 Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Table 30.2); Indonesia, BPS (1983b: Table );  
 Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Table 22.2); Indonesia, BPS (1992d: Table 35.2 )



Despite the unstable pattern of the proportion of 'others' based on the 1971-90 census, there is an increasing trend in the proportion of women in Jakarta recorded as working (Table 5-3). On the other hand, the proportion of women recorded as housekeeping decreased for the younger age group and increased for the older age group during the period. The decline in the proportion of women recorded as housekeeping was particularly striking for age group 15-19 during the last decade (Table 5-2). This is partly because of the increasing number attending education and working among this age group. The increase in the proportion of older women recorded as housekeeping partly suggests the values regarding the ideal woman, where the woman's place is at home, still strongly persist among this age group.

In summary, although the Central Bureau of Statistics has slightly improved the quality of the 1990 census, it seems likely that this census still tends to overrecord women in housekeeping categories. This suggests that the values of a woman's place is at home taking care of the husband and children, are still strong, even in the national capital where socio-economic changes have been rapid

Table 5-3. Status of activity by age group, female, Jakarta, 1971-90 (per cent)

Age group	Working			Searching work			Schooling			Housekeeping			Others			Total
	1971	1980	1990	1971	1980	1990	1971	1980	1990	1971	1980	1990	1971	1980	1990	(%)
15-19	17	25	30	4	2	5	25	36	49	41	24	9	12	13	7	100
20-24	18	26	39	5	2	7	7	7	11	66	57	37	5	8	6	100
25-29	18	26	35	4	1	3	1	1	1	73	68	58	2	4	2	100
30-34	21	24	31	4	0	1	0	0	0	73	72	67	2	3	1	100
35-39	23	26	31	4	0	1	0	0	0	70	71	67	2	2	1	100
40-44	25	27	29	4	0	0	0	0	0	66	70	69	3	3	1	100
45-49	25	25	27	3	0	0	0	0	0	64	69	70	6	6	2	100
50-54	22	24	24	4	0	0	0	0	0	59	64	71	11	11	5	100
55-59	16	19	18	3	0	0	0	0	0	57	62	73	16	18	9	100
60-64	12	15	15	3	0	0	0	0	0	51	52	67	24	32	18	100
15-64	19	25	32	4	1	3	7	10	12	62	56	49	8	8	4	100

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 29); Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Table 30.2); Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Table 22.2)

## 5.2. Trends in female participation rates in Jakarta during 1971-90

As mentioned earlier, Jones (1974), Hidayat (1976) and Bukit and Bakir (1984) adopted different procedures in adjusting the size of the labour force. Jones (1974) only adjusted those in the age group 10-39, considering that those aged 40 and above are likely to conform to the definition of 'others'. He added arbitrarily one-third of 'others' aged 10-14 and one-half of 'others' aged 15-39 to the labour force, assuming that those in the 10-14 age group are less likely to participate in the labour force than the 15-39 age group.

Using the same data (1971 census), Hidayat only adjusted the size of the male labour force in the age group 10-19. He assumed that the size of the labour force of males aged 20 and above as well as females in all age group was already correct.

Bukit and Bakir (1984) devised another procedure for adjusting the high proportion of 'others' in the 1971 and 1980 censuses in order to calculate an adjusted activity rate. *SAKERNAS* was used as the standard in adjusting the 1971 and 1980 censuses, assuming that the variations in the 'others' category was simply a statistical effect. The proportion of the 'others' group in the 1971 and 1980 censuses in the lower and middle age group was higher than that based on *SAKERNAS*, which resulted in lower participation rates in the same age groups (Appendix 5-1 and 5-2).

*SAKERNAS* is used as the basis for standardisation because data on labour force based in *SAKERNAS* are considered as more reliable than those in the censuses. This is because *SAKERNAS* is a national survey that specifically obtained information on the labour force and showed consistent figures on labour force participation rates (Appendix 5-3). The standardisation is based on the average of the proportion of the 'others' group from 1976, 1977 and 1978 *SAKERNAS*, assuming that the proportion of 'others' was constant during 1971-80. For each age-sex group between the ages 10 and 55 in both censuses, the proportion of 'others' is compared with the average of the corresponding average 'others' percentages in *SAKERNAS* 1976-78. If the percentage based on the

census is higher, the labour force is increased by the difference between the two percentages (see Appendix 5-1 and 5-2 for the results).

I applied this procedure in adjusting the female participation rates of DKI Jakarta (Bukit and Bakir (1984) used standardisation for Indonesia as a whole). The rates in the 1990 census are assumed to be real because the proportion of 'others' group does not differ much compared with that in the 1990 *SAKERNAS* (see Table 5-1). The higher proportion of the 'others' group in 1986-90 *SAKERNAS* compared to 1976-78 *SAKERNAS* also seems to be real. Cremer (1990:85) argued that unemployed female tend to be misclassified as 'others' group and homemakers. Further, many more females than males are engaged in unpaid work, so the probability is higher that, in addition to unemployed, family workers are also included in the female 'others' group. By applying Rucker's approach (see Cremer, 1990:82-5) to adjust the unemployment rate, the unadjusted figures of the unemployment ratio of urban females in the second half of the eighties was higher than ten years ago. Urban female unemployment ratios by age and education indicate that this increase is partly caused by higher unemployment ratios in certain age -education groups. However, a more important factor is the changing education composition of the urban female labour force. If we apply the 1986 unemployment ratios by age and education to the corresponding categories in the 1976 labour force (*SAKERNAS* data), the urban female unemployment ratio would be only 5.9 per cent instead of 8.1 per cent (*SAKERNAS* 1976, Table 5.2; *SAKERNAS* 1986, Tables 7.2 and 23.2). Today, a higher proportion of urban females are better-educated than ten years ago, and are looking for jobs which they consider appropriate to their education level. The adjusted figures also shows that the unemployment ratio of urban females in the second half of the eighties is higher than ten years ago (Table 5-4).

Table 5-4. Unemployment ratios: unadjusted and adjusted, urban Indonesia

	Unadjusted		Adjusted	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
1971C <sup>a</sup>	4.5	5.0	-	-
1971D <sup>a</sup>	17.1	10.8	23.3	14.3
1976 <sup>b</sup>	5.9	5.4	11.5	7.9
1976 <sup>c</sup>	5.1	6.9	8.5	10.6
1977 <sup>c</sup>	5.4	6.4	7.8	8.8
1978 <sup>c</sup>	3.8	7.0	5.3	9.7
1980 <sup>a</sup>	3.0	2.7	13.4	8.0
1982 <sup>d</sup>	6.5	5.5	11.5	8.4
1985 <sup>b</sup>	5.6	5.3	12.3	8.9
1986 <sup>c</sup>	8.1	6.9	14.0	10.2
1987 <sup>c</sup>	7.2	6.8	12.7	9.9

Source: Cremer, 1990: Table 4

Note : <sup>a</sup> Census      <sup>b</sup> Supas      <sup>c</sup> Sakernas      <sup>d</sup> Susenas

The higher proportion of the 'others' group in 1986-90 SAKERNAS compared to 1976-78 SAKERNAS is also likely to be the result of the increasing number of discouraged workers in the second half of the eighties (Cremer, 1990:85). As the proportion of better-educated women in the second half of the eighties is higher than ten years earlier, more of them were probably looking for work which they considered suitable to their educational level. Many of them attended such courses, as computer, sewing or language programs as a 'bridge' to participate in the labour force. As soon as a job becomes available, they usually terminate the course (Cremer, 1990:79).

Therefore, the number of the labour force based on the 1990 census does not need to be adjusted.

As shown in Table 5-5 the standardised female participation rates were higher than the unstandardised ones, particularly for 1980. The standardised rates for 1980 among the younger (15-19) and older (50 and over) age groups was even higher than that in the 1990 census. The table also shows that the pattern of female participation rates in the 1971 census is different from other years. Whereas the highest participation rates in the 1961 (although it is not strictly comparable), 1980 and 1990 censuses were found for the younger age groups, those in the 1971 census was found for the 35-49 age group.

**Table 5-5. Female participation rates by age group, Jakarta, 1961-90**

Age	Unstandardised			Standardised <sup>1</sup>		1990
	1961 <sup>2</sup>	1971	1980	1971	1980	
15-19	27.3	20.9	26.9	28.2	35.4	35.1
20-24	23.4	21.9	28.4	26.2	35.7	46.6
25-29	21.3	22.2	27.0	24.4	31.2	38.3
30-34		24.4	24.9	25.8	27.2	31.6
35-39	24.3	27.0	26.5	28.2	28.2	31.7
40-44		28.7	27.1	30.4	29.2	29.6
45-49	23.5	27.0	24.9	28.7	27.5	27.6
50-54		25.3	24.1	27.4	27.2	24.0
55-59	18.0	18.9	20.0	18.9	20.0	18.0
60-64		14.8	15.5	14.8	15.5	15.0
All ages (15-64)	23.4	23.3	26.4	26.6	31.2	34.9

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1963: Table 30); Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 29);  
Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Table 30.2); Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Table 22.2)

Notes : <sup>1</sup> Standardised by the proportion of 'others' category based on 1976-78  
SAKERNAS.

<sup>2</sup> The definition of working in 1961 is based on gainful workers approach  
and the time reference is six months.

The patterns of change in female participation rates during 1971-80, both unstandardised and standardised, were similar, with an increase occurring among females in the younger age group, particularly in the age group 20-24 (Table 5-6). If the unstandardised and standardised rates are compared, the greatest increase was in the younger age group for 1971-80 based on the standardised rates. In contrast, a decreasing rate was observed for those in the age group 40-54.

**Table 5-6. Changes in female participation rates by age, Jakarta, 1971-80, 1980-90<sup>1</sup>**

Age group	Unstandardised		Standardised <sup>2</sup>	
	1971-80	1980-90	1971-80	1980-90
15-19	6.0	8.2	7.2	-0.3
20-24	6.5	18.2	9.5	10.9
25-29	4.8	11.3	6.8	7.1
30-34	0.5	6.7	1.4	4.4
35-39	-0.5	5.2	0	3.5
40-44	-1.6	2.5	-1.2	0.4
45-49	-2.1	2.7	-1.2	0.1
50-54	-1.2	-0.1	-0.2	-3.2
55-59	1.1	-2.0	1.1	-2.0
60-64	0.7	-0.5	0.7	-0.5
All (15-64)	3.1	8.5	4.6	3.7

Source : Table 5-5

Notes : <sup>1</sup> Standardised by the proportion of 'others' group based on 1976-78 *SAKERNAS*

<sup>2</sup> The standardised rates are applied for the rates based on the 1970 and 1980 censuses

During 1980-90, both the unstandardised and standardised figures show that the greatest change still occurred in the age group 20-24 (Table 5-6). However, the declining rates were found for those in the age group 50 and above. Changes in female participation rates for the youngest group differs according to whether standardised or unstandardised rates are used. Whereas the unstandardised rates show a large increase in participation rates for this group (8.2 per cent), the standardised rates show a decline.

The marked increase in female participation rates during 1980-90 in Jakarta is partly real, because of changing values towards women's work and partly because the Central Bureau of Statistics improved the quality of the enumerators<sup>2</sup> as well as the questionnaire. The question asked in 1990 is different from that in previous censuses. Whereas in previous censuses, main activity (*kegiatan utama*) was asked in order to

<sup>2</sup> A study in Egypt (Anker and Anker, 1989) found that improved training and increased sensitisation of interviewers has increased the enumeration of female labour force participants by 1.5 million within a year. A study in Argentina and Paraguay (Wainerman, 1988 cited in Anker, 1994) found that interviewer training had an important effect on the reporting of female labour force activity.

categorise whether people participated in the labour force or not, in 1990, activity mostly involved (*kegiatan terbanyak*) was asked. *Kegiatan terbanyak* emphasises physical activity, whereas *kegiatan utama* means main activity which is less operational/clearcut. But partly, the increases appear to have been real. During the last ten years, young women became more educated, therefore they are more likely to participate in the labour force.

As mentioned earlier, as the proportion of women included as 'working' increased, the proportion of them recorded in 'housekeeping' as their main activity has fallen markedly during 1980-90. The marked change particularly occurred among those in the age group (15-29). Since the change is particularly striking in the age group 15-29, the next section will only deal with change in participation rates among the age group 15-29.

### **5.3. Female labour force participation among young women**

Whether women participate in the labour force or not is closely related to their family life cycles. Almost universally, single women have higher rates than married women. In developed countries, in the early twentieth century growth in the participation of married women has been greater than that for single women (Oppenheimer, 1970), although the rates for single women were still higher.

This pattern is also found in Jakarta. During 1980-90, the greatest change in young women's participation rates was found for married women (50 per cent), particularly young married women with no children (Table 5-7). The large increase was partly due to the low base of young married women's participation rate in 1980 and partly due to increases in education. However, the increase in female participation rates during 1980-90 is partly attributed to the effect of age, as is reflected by the lower standardised rates compared to the actual rates (Table 5-7).



**Table 5-7. Changes in female participation rates (15-29) by marital status, Jakarta, 1980-90**

Marital status	Female participation rates			Per cent change <sup>1</sup> 1980-90
	1980	1990		
		Unstandardised	Standardised <sup>2</sup>	
Single	39.7	51.8	48.4	21.9
Married	13.0	20.4	19.5	50.0
No children	25.0	36.6	33.0	32.0
1 child	11.6	17.7	14.6	25.9
2 children or more	8.6	12.5	11.1	29.1

Sources: 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Notes : <sup>1</sup> Based on standardised figures

<sup>2</sup> Standardised by female age structure of Jakarta in 1980

Young women's education has increased markedly during the period 1980-90 for all marital status categories. A different pattern of percentage change in education of single compared to that of married women can be seen in Table 5-8. Whereas for single women, a negative change occurred for those with junior high education and less during 1980-90, for married women a negative change only occurred for those with less than primary school education. Nevertheless, the highest increase in education for both single and married young women has been found for those with senior high education (Table 5-9).

**Table 5-8. Education of young women (20-29) by marital status, Jakarta, 1980-90**

Education	Single		Married with no children		Married with children		All married	
	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990
< Primary	20	8	36	19	37	21	37	21
Primary	21	16	27	31	31	35	30	34
Junior High	16	13	14	17	16	19	15	18
Senior High	39	54	20	27	15	22	16	23
Tertiary	4	10	3	6	1	3	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

**Table 5-9. Changes in young women's education (20-29) by marital status, Jakarta, 1980-90 (per cent)**

Education	Single	Married with no children	Married with children	All married
< Primary	-60	-47	-43	-43
Primary	-24	15	13	13
Junior High	-19	21	19	20
Senior High	38	35	47	44
Tertiary	150	100	200	100

Sources: 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Note : the striking increase among those with tertiary education is because of the low base in 1980.

As we have seen in Chapter 2, the more educated a woman is above the junior high level, the more likely she is to participate in economic activities. The pattern of young women's participation rates for single women is different from that for married women (Table 5-10). Whereas, single women's participation rates by education show a U-shaped pattern, that for married women shows a J-shaped pattern. In 1980, participation rates of single women were lowest for those with junior high education, but for married women the lowest participation rates were found among those with primary school education. In 1990, participation rates of single women were lowest for those with senior high education, but that of married women were lowest for those with junior high education.

**Table 5-10. Young women's participation rates (20-29) by marital status and education, Jakarta, 1980-90**

Education	Single		Married no children		Married with children		All married women	
	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990
< Primary	65	77	27	41	6	11	10	19
Primary	60	81	24	39	6	10	9	17
Junior High	44	66	23	30	8	10	10	14
Senior High	52	64	42	39	26	23	31	29
Tertiary	80	88	68	68	38	51	52	58
Total	56	70	30	40	9	14	14	21

Sources: 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

The large increase in the participation rate for young married women with no children during 1980-1990 might be the result of the increase of young married women who worked before they married, and continued to work after being married, and decided to delay their child-bearing. This trend was also observed in the United States (Goldin, 1990).

As noted in 1990 women were getting married later than they did ten years before. Moreover, in 1990 married women tend to delay their child-bearing. The proportion of married women aged 15-29 with no children has increased from 40 per cent in 1980 to 45 per cent in 1990.

In the United States, increase in participation of women in the labour force has been attributed to increase in wage rates (Cain, 1966; Goldin, 1990; Mincer, 1975). Real wages have increased since 1971 in Indonesia, although they did not rise much in the 1980s (Manning, C., 1994a:76). However, average income growth has increased rapidly. This is because as the workers moved out of agriculture, they were pushed to work in the higher earning jobs with longer hours of work (Manning, C., 1995:74). Policy on rising minimum wage and rising needs give more protection to female workers, therefore increase female employment opportunities in industry.

#### **5.4. Relative change in participation rates of married and single women during 1980-90**

Participation rates rose substantially for both single and married women between 1980 and 1990. The percentage point increase was greater for single women, but the relative increase was greater for married women.

For most women in Indonesia, participation in the work force is still widely considered in terms of their earnings being supplementary to their husbands' incomes. If the men do not earn enough, wives may have to contribute or help. Using probit regression equations for urban Indonesia based on 1992 *SAKERNAS*, Manning, C.

(forthcoming) confirms this hypothesis. He found that participation among women aged 15 and over was negatively associated with both the educational achievement and the income status of household heads (p. 245).<sup>3 4</sup>

Mincer (1962) also concluded that women are more likely to work when their husband's income temporarily declines. However, Cain (1966) showed that additional transitory income had little effect on reducing women's employment. Therefore, women are likely to enter the job market to compensate for temporarily low income, but are far less likely to drop out of the labour force when income increases.

The change in family economic conditions and Western influences through the media have led to changes in attitudes of women in Jakarta, especially young women. There are more positive views toward working wives. To support their preferred lifestyles, it is now often necessary for both husbands and wives to work outside the home. The values about the 'ideal housewife', which was adopted from Western countries and traditional values during the Second World War when the middle class expanded, have changed during the last twenty years. Although the values about the ideal housewife are still strongly held among the older people, the values have gradually changed among the young population. A study by Djohan (1994) in Yogyakarta shows that according to the middle and older generation group, the role of women in the family as housekeepers, child rearers and nurturant supporters of the husbands were accepted as God given. In order to maintain the happiness in the family a woman could not escape from this condition. Younger generations, however, although some recognised that her mother still pass on the values and norms about ideal housewife, most of them did not accept the values and norms anymore. They said that women were equal to men and younger

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<sup>3</sup> He covered all women aged 15 and over in households where the head was a wage earner

<sup>4</sup> Widarti (1991) also found a negative association between husband's education and participation of married women in the labour force.

women increasingly work outside the home and they demanded that the husband should also responsible for the household chores.

Studies in the United States show that changing attitudes toward young women's labour-force participation have influenced fertility. Changing attitudes towards young women's labour-force participation also appear to have influenced fertility in Jakarta, although the causation can also work in the opposite direction. This is reflected from the lower number of children young women (15-29) have in Jakarta in 1990 compared to ten years earlier (1980 and 1990 census data tapes). Moreover, covering all married women aged 15-64, Manning, C. (forthcoming) shows that presence of young children in the household was negatively associated with women's participation for age group 15-64 in urban Indonesia.

Young educated women who work as professionals are less likely to permit the presence of children to interfere with their job. A study by AIM (1987) and IPPM (1987) (cited in Djamal, 1996:221) found that a few women who work as managers have no children, because the value of their success is very high. With no children, it enabled them to devote time to their career rather than to the family.

### **5.5. Change in attitudes of women and men**

Studies in the United States suggest that husbands' attitudes are important determinants of the increase of married women's participation rates. Ferber's study (1982:463) on young married women's participation in the labour force shows that the husband's attitude at the time of marriage was significantly related to his level of education. More highly educated husbands are less traditional in their attitudes toward women's roles.

Unfortunately, in Indonesia there is no study on husbands' attitudes towards working wives based on longitudinal data. Cross-sectional studies on young middle-class women with a high educational background show husbands' positive attitudes towards

working wives. A study by the Asian Institute of Management and *Institut Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Manajemen (IPPM)*, which only covered young women managers, found that these women were supported by their husbands and the success of their career was determined by the husband's attitude (Hasibuan-Sedyono, 1996:217). Their husbands generally graduated from university and worked as managers or professionals. A study of six middle-class women who had high educational backgrounds and used to work also showed the husband's positive attitude towards working wives<sup>5</sup> (Rambe, 1996:113). This study shows that these women, when young, were supported by their husband materially, morally, and through contribution of time. One of the respondents was even reprimanded by her husband because when she was younger she preferred to stay at home and take care of her husband and her child who was still breastfeeding. However, her husband insisted that she work in order not to waste her knowledge, which she gained from overseas.

Both studies above only covered a very small sample and are not truly representative even of the very small proportion of the labour force in Indonesia that they refer to. However, as the educational level of men increases over time, it is expected that more and more husbands in Indonesia will have positive attitudes towards working wives.

It appears that young professionals in urban Indonesia have slowly changed their perceptions regarding their role in helping manage the household. A survey of young professionals conducted by *Femina* magazine (*Femina* [Yearly], 79-85, 1993) found that younger men are more likely to share household responsibilities, especially helping taking care of the children, by taking them to school, playing sport and other activities. A study on tertiary educated Javanese women in urban Yogyakarta, also found that younger women tended to seek more support from their husbands in assisting with childcare than

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<sup>5</sup> These women were well-known in Indonesia, and had retired by the time of interview.

older generations of women, although the household maid and the mother continued to play the main substitute role in managing the household (Manning, T.M., 1996:88). This trend appears to be more prominent in Jakarta, where the employment of household servants is becoming more costly and families are less able to depend on paid household help, their mothers or other family members.

## **Conclusion**

Female participation rates in the labour force have changed greatly among the younger age group during the two-decade period 1970-90. The factors responsible appear to include changing values about ideal women, economic pressures of living in Jakarta, and changing attitudes of both men and women towards women's work.

During 1980-90, the greatest relative change in young women's participation rates was found for married women, especially those with no children. This suggests that as women increasingly became more educated, they tended to work when they were still single and a higher proportion of them continued to work after being married and delayed their childbearing.

## **Chapter 6: Changing Employment and Occupation in Jakarta: an Overview**

The previous chapter shows that female participation rates have increased over time. This chapter provides an overview of changing employment by work status, sector and broad occupation as an introduction to the more detailed analysis of female occupations in Chapter 7. As the city became more modernised, we would expect to find an increasing share of wage workers and a declining share of self-employed and family workers, and a rising share of professional and managerial workers. The impact of such changes on the gender distribution of work is uncertain, as we saw in Chapter 2. It depends on stage development, demographic and other country-specific factors.

### **6.1. Changing work status and industry**

The rise in female participation rates is reflected in the faster growth of female employment than that of males during 1971-90. The growth rate of female employment in Jakarta during the period was 6.8 per cent per annum compared with 4.3 per cent per annum for males. These figures were much higher than the national figures: 3.5 and 2.9 per cent per annum for females and males respectively (Indonesia, BPS, 1975 and 1992c).

Before discussing changing status during the last two decades, we need to keep in mind that the classification of work status in the 1971 census is different from that used in the later censuses. Whereas in the 1971 census, work status was classified into four groups, that in the later censuses was classified into five groups. The five groups were: self-employed, self-employed assisted by family workers, employer, employee and family workers. According to the 1971 census, self-employed workers were lumped together. Nevertheless, Table 6-1 shows that the share of female wage workers to total employment has increased substantially during the last two decades (by 15 per cent). Conversely, the proportion of working females categorised as self-employed and family workers declined.



The share of employees was higher among females than males for the first time in 1990, and was unusually high compared with urban areas in Indonesia (Indonesia, BPS, 1992d: Table 42.2). Two factors might explain this fact. Firstly, increases in wage employment opportunities for females took place especially in manufacturing, and a substantial share of manufacturing growth was in Jakarta. Secondly, difficulty of females in particular surviving informal sector jobs in congested Jakarta, and the fact that many non-wage workers in Jakarta increasingly moved their residence to cheaper locations outside the city limits (Jones and Mamas, 1996).

**Table 6-1. Employment status by sex, Jakarta, 1971-90**

	Females			Males		
	1971	1980	1990	1971	1980	1990
Self-employed	19	16	11	22	20	17
Self-employed assisted by family workers	-	7	7	-	8	8
employer	1	2	1	3	2	2
employee	61	67	76	70	68	71
family workers	9	8	5	5	2	2
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
N (000)	(315)	(498)	(889)	(996)	(1419)	(2033)

Sources: Indonesia. BPS (1974: Table 34); Indonesia. BPS (1983a: Tables 34.1 and 34.2);

Indonesia. BPS (1992c: Tables 25.4 and 25.5)

The proportion of female wage workers was largest among the young age group (15-29) and increased substantially over time among this group (Table 6-2). Although the pattern for males was different, the share of paid workers among the young age group tended to increase and in 1990 was the largest compared with the older age groups. This pattern reflects that as the younger people became more educated than the older people, having paid jobs increasingly became a matter of 'status' for them. It also often meant high incomes and more stable jobs. At the same time, paid employment is increasingly available for young people in the labour force, whereas it is less available for older workers because of their lack of education. The decline in the proportion of female wage

workers aged 50-64 may be because large scale industries favour younger workers, who are easier to train in new activities and who have sufficient education for the tasks required.

**Table 6-2. Wage workers by age group and sex, Jakarta, 1971-90**

	Females		Males	
	1971	1990	1971	1990
15-29	65	87	68	76
30-49	58	60	71	70
50-64	53	43	58	60

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 33); Indonesia, BPS (1990 census data tape)

Table 6-3 shows that there is a different pattern in the proportion of wage workers by sector and sex. Over the last decade, whereas the proportion of wage workers among females employed in each sector has increased, the proportion of wage workers among males increased in all except the services sector. For females, the increase was greatest among those employed in trade, hotels and restaurants (from a low base), followed by the services sector. The former is because of the booming of supermarkets, shopping complexes, hotels, new restaurants, and job opportunities as door to door saleswomen for the growing middle class. The latter seems to be mainly related to the increasing share of paid household maids over the period. Chapter 7 will show that for the former, the increase was substantial for those with senior high education, whereas for the latter the increase was large for those with primary school education, as the share of employed women who had not completed primary school declined sharply in both sectors. For males, the increase in the proportion of wage workers was highest in the construction sector. This partly reflects the boom in building construction in Jakarta in the 1980s, and presumably the increasing predominance of companies and large-scale enterprises undertaking this work, compared to the greater amount of building undertaken by small teams, sometimes self-employed or family groups, in the past.

**Table 6-3. The proportion of wage workers in each non-agricultural sector by sex, Jakarta, 1980-90**

	Females		Males	
	1980	1990	1980	1990
Manufacturing	90	95	89	93
Construction	86	93	76	82
Trade, hotels & restaurants	19	36	29	33
Communication and Transportation	93	97	75	79
Finance	95	98	94	95
Services	80	87	80	80

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Tables 34.1 and 34.2);  
Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Tables 25.4 and 25.5)

The changing role of female employment in total employment in certain economic sectors can be seen from the changing sex ratios and share of particular sector in total employment. During the last two decades, the female share of employment tended to increase in all sectors, and the increase was particularly obvious during the last decade. The largest increase was found in services, followed by manufacturing. On the contrary, women were still very significantly under-represented in the construction as well as in the transport and communication sectors in 1990. This under-representation is not confined to Jakarta or Indonesia. It is common to other South-East Asian countries as well, indeed, most countries in the world (Durand, 1975a).

Although the sex ratio of employment increased in all sectors, women were still concentrated in a few sectors. Table 6-4 shows that change in women's employment during the last two decades mainly occurred within three main sectors - manufacturing, trade and services. The following section will focus on the analysis of changing employment within these three groups based on the detailed sectors during the last decade.

Table 6-4. Changes in women's employment by main industry, sex ratio, Jakarta, 1971-90

Main industry	Female employment (%)				Growth rate*	F/M ratio of the workers in each sector			Increase in sex ratio in favour of women	
	1961	1971	1980	1990		1971	1980	1990	'71-80	80-90
Manufacturing	17	12	15	22	157 <del>148</del>	0.34	0.37	0.49	0.03	0.12
Construction	1	1	1	1	169 <del>148</del>	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.02
Trade, restaurants, and hotels	16 <sup>a</sup>	29	26	27	87 <del>149</del>	0.30	0.37	0.44	0.07	0.07
Transport	2	1	1	2	158 <del>148</del>	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.00	0.03
Finance		2	2	5	301 <del>148</del>	0.16	0.23	0.29	0.07	0.06
Services	64	55	54	43	42 <del>4</del>	0.45	0.57	0.80	0.12	0.23
Total	100 (173)	100 (256)	100 (494)	100 (886)	78 <del>4</del>	0.30	0.35	0.44	0.05	0.09
Wage workers	74	61	67	76		0.27	0.34	0.47	0.07	0.13

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1963: Table 33); Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 35); Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Tables 34.1 and 34.2); Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Tables 25.4 and 25.5)

Note : <sup>a</sup> Including finance sector  $\frac{\% \text{ increase in } \lambda}{\lambda}$

\* Growth rate refers to the numbers in each sector

### 6.1.1. Services

The contribution of services to Jakarta's income was not large compared to that of manufacturing and trade (Table 6-5). The share of this sector to the economy was three per cent in 1975, increased to 11 per cent in 1980, but then decreased to seven per cent in 1990. However, service<sup>1</sup> occupations have always absorbed the largest share of women in the labour force, although the proportion has tended to decline over time (Table 6-4).

**Table 6-5. Percentage distribution and growth of GDP by economic sector, Jakarta, 1975-90 (constant prices)**

Economic sector	1975	1980	1990	Annual Growth 1980-90 (per cent)
Agriculture	2	1	1	7
Manufacturing	11	18	26	13
Construction	4	5	8	14
Utilities	2	1	4	17
Transport and Communication	8	9	11	13
Trade, restaurants and hotels	48	28	21	8
Finance	9	13	14	11
Rent of dwelling	3	5	3	6
Public administration	10	9	5	5
Services	3	11	7	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>11</b>
(million Rp.)		(3,988,071)	(13,681,114)	

Sources: Kantor Statistik, Jakarta (1983: Tables 9.2 and 9.4);

Kantor Statistik, Jakarta (1987: Tables 9.2 and 9.3);

Kantor Statistik, Jakarta (1992: Tables 9.2 and 9.4)

Household maids, who mostly have lower educational background, had the largest share of total women's employment in Jakarta (29 per cent) in 1971 (Jones, 1984b:50). Based on the 1985 *SUPAS*, Widarti (1991: 281) found that the proportion of household maids was still quite large, accounting for 22.5 per cent of total women's employment. Nevertheless, experience from Singapore, Taipei and Seoul shows that

<sup>1</sup> We need to keep in mind that this sector has a dual nature. One segment of the sector mainly employed uneducated women, and the other employed better-educated women.

both the proportion and the absolute number of women employed in domestic service has declined since the 1970s as their economies develop (Chapter 2). Rising real wage levels in the process of economic development and the availability of the technology for labour-saving devices in household work were responsible for this trend.

Because of the rapid economic development in Jakarta, the proportion of women employed as household maids has declined during 1980-90, as will be seen in Chapter 7. This can also be shown from the declining share of women employed in personal and household services to total women absorbed in service sector during 1980-90 (Table 6-6).

**Table 6-6. Services sector employment, females and males, Jakarta, 1980-90**

Service sectors	Females		Males	
	1980	1990	1980	1990
91 Government services, defence	13	9	46	35
92 Sanitary	*	*	*	2
93 Social/ community	14	22	12	23
94 Recreation, culture	1	1	3	4
95 Personal & household	72	68	39	36
Total (%)	100	100	100	100

Sources : 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Note : \* less than one per cent.

Unlike household maids, the government sector provides important opportunities especially for educated women. As the seat of central government, civil service employment is mainly concentrated in Jakarta. The role of the government sector in provision of employment was particularly substantial during the oil boom years of 1974-1981 (Logsdon, 1985). However, since the mid-1980s there have been cutbacks in public sector spending due to reduced government oil revenues, and the deregulation drive of economic policy. Therefore, it is not surprising that the share of women employed in government services to total women absorbed in the services sector has declined from 13 per cent in 1980 to 9 per cent in 1990 (Table 6-6). The declining share of women

employed in government services (91) and personal and household services (95) was offset by an increase in the share of women employed in social/community services (Table 6-5). The role of women in education services will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Table 6-7 shows clearly that government services as well as social and community services provide jobs for the better-educated, and during 1980-90 the increase was particularly striking for those who graduated from senior high school and higher. On the contrary, personal and household services provide jobs for the less-educated (less than primary school).

**Table 6-7. Women in services sector by education, Jakarta, 1980-90**

Service sectors	1980			1990		
	< Primary	Junior High	Senior High +	< Primary	Junior High	Senior High +
91 Government services, defence	10	13	77	2	6	92
92 Sanitary	77	6	17	58	17	25
93 Social/ community	12	11	77	6	5	89
94 Recreation, culture	27	21	52	22	18	60
95 Personal & household	91	5	4	81	13	6

Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Changes in male employment in the service sector during the last decade was similar to that of women. However, whereas the largest share of women employed in services was in personal and household services, that of men was in government services and defence in 1980, and although the share of government services and defence in male employment had declined by 1990, its share was still just below that of personal and household services.

### 6.1.2. Trade

Trade has ranked second in providing women's employment since 1971 (Table 6-4). Trade, together with restaurants and hotels, had the largest share of total income in Jakarta in previous years (Table 6-5). In 1990, however, this share was exceeded by the manufacturing sector.

Many women in Jakarta were concentrated in small-scale trading, particularly retail trade (Table 6-8). However, during the period 1980-90, the proportion of women employed in retail trade has declined from 91 per cent to 79 per cent. This is due to the municipal administrations' policies and modern sector changes which have taken place since the 1970s. Clearance of the traders from the central city sites, *kampung* demolition as well as changing patterns of consumption among the middle class, all contributed to this change. At the same time, women employed in restaurants, cafes and other eating and drinking places increased dramatically during the ten year period (Table 6-8). The rapid growth of these eating and drinking places as well as supermarkets further disadvantaged the petty traders, since the middle-class who had formerly patronized them were more attracted to modern sector products. Jellinek (1991) suggests that apart from the greater prestige of buying these new items of food, the goods produced by these new retail outlets were often more hygienic, nicely packaged and of better quality. And there was no longer such a large price difference between the food of petty traders and the larger retail outlets.

**Table 6-8. Women employed in trade, Jakarta, 1980-90 (per cent)**

Trade sector	1980		1990	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
61 Wholesale trade	307	5	831	5
62 Retail trade	5,252	91	12,849	79
63 Restaurants, cafe	148	2	2,360	15
64 Hotels, motels	98	2	182	1
Total	5,805	100	16,222	100

Sources: Indonesia. BPS. 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Jellinek (1991) also found that the expanding middle class started to change its patterns of consumption during the 1970s as the result of rising incomes. As more and more people could afford to purchase refrigerators and build larger kitchens, additional storage facilities enabled housewives to buy much of their food in large quantities more



cheaply at supermarkets, rather than shopping daily for small amounts at small street stalls, open-air markets and from mobile vendors. Moreover, changes in consumer tastes and technology caused certain products to become obsolete, which further disadvantaged petty traders. By the late 1970s, many of the items handled by petty producers and sellers were rapidly replaced by mass-produced ones as observed by Jellinek (1991:93) as follows:

Banana leaves, for example, which had been used for wrapping food were replaced by plastic bags. Pottery, coconut husks and tin containers which had served as cooking utensils were replaced by imported porcelain. Mats woven from locally grown reeds were replaced by multicoloured plastic ones. Mattresses made from kapok were replaced by rubber ones. The rattan tables, chairs and furniture rapidly gave way to vinyl coated armchairs and plastic or glass tables. The fresh fruit avocado, pawpaw, mango and pineapple juices were replaced by mass-produced and bottled Teh Botol (sweetened bottled tea), Coca Cola, Seven Up, and Green Spot. The rice cakes and cassava snacks were replaced by bread, biscuits, hamburgers and hotdogs. Most of these new products were uniformly designed and made from imported rather than local materials. They could be made by larger-scale firms rather than the diversity of small-scale labour-intensive activities of the *kampung*.

Further, she mentioned that after the mid- to late-1970s, as many informal sector activities declined, new opportunities arose in other sectors. Petty traders selling books and magazines, plastic toys, raincoats, kitchen utensils, thongs and mass-produced ice cream still operated on the streets, near market places and in the *kampung*. Nevertheless, since traders in these activities had to cover large areas in the congested city, they needed higher mobility. They tended to employ more men than women.

Because of the tremendous changes in the modern sector as well as municipal administration's policies in Jakarta as described above, the proportion of women in petty trade has decreased during the last decade. On the other hand, the proportion of women employed in supermarkets, especially those who are young and better-educated, has increased rapidly during the 1980-90 period. I will also discuss these changes in detail in Chapter 7.

The changing women's employment within trade is also reflected in changing educational level of women employed in each sub-sector. Table 6-9 shows that although women in all kind of trade were better-educated in 1990, the change in education was particularly striking for those employed in retail trade. The proportion of women in this occupation with less than primary school education has declined from 81 per cent in 1980 to 49 per cent in 1990. This is offset by a remarkable increase in the proportion of women in retail trade who have at least senior high education (Table 6-9). This suggests the rapid growth of supermarkets since the mid-1980s, which employ young women with at least senior high education.

**Table 6-9. Women employed in trade by education, Jakarta, 1980-90**

Trade sector	1980			1990		
	<Primary	Junior High	Senior High +	<Primary	Junior High	Senior High +
61 Wholesale	21	14	65	5	7	88
62 Retail trade	81	10	9	49	16	35
63 Restaurant, cafe and bar	82	7	11	63	15	22
64 Hotel	14	12	74	10	5	85

Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Unlike wholesale trade, women's employment in retail trade as well as in restaurants, cafes and bars seems to be more diverse, which is reflected in the low educational level of most women employed in these sub-sectors. Nevertheless, the education of women employed in these sub-sectors has changed dramatically, with a substantial decline for those who had not completed primary school, and a remarkable increase for those with senior high education. Nevertheless, in 1990 many women still had a primary school education and lower.

The large increase in the proportion of women in retail trade who had senior high education suggests the important role of door to door saleswomen in the late 1980s (see also Chapter 7). On the other hand, the still large proportion of women employed in retail

trade who had primary school or less (49 per cent) suggests the important role of petty trade in providing employment for the less-educated. More than half the women in retail trade were self-employed in 1990, although the wage workers have increased by 18 per cent during the ten year period 1980-90 (1980 and 1990 census data tapes).

There was also a differentiation within the restaurant, cafe and bar group. The increase in the proportion of women employed in restaurants, cafes and bars was the greatest among those with primary education (15 per cent), followed by those with senior high education. The proportion of women in these sub-sectors who were paid workers increased by nine per cent, whereas it increased by four per cent among unpaid workers.

### 6.1.3. *Manufacturing*

Manufacturing industry in Jakarta was growing rapidly during 1980-90. Table 6-5 shows that the annual growth of manufacturing to total GDP was the highest compared with other sectors (25 per cent). Manufacturing accounts for the largest share of any sector in Jakarta's economy since 1988 (Jakarta, 1992). This sector employed the third largest share of women in the labour force in Jakarta (Table 6-4). During 1961-71, the officially recorded share of both male and female employment in manufacturing to total employment declined substantially (Table 6-4). Castles (1989b) suggests that this was partly due to the involvement of unrecorded circular migrants in this sector. But aside from this, it does seem that manufacturing in Jakarta underwent a setback in the 1960s, whether from inflation and economic decline during the late Old Order period of government, or from the more liberal policies in the New Order period after 1965, which dismantled some forms of protection manufacturing had enjoyed (Sundrum, 1986).

By 1971, new industrial expansion was under way, characterised by heavy involvement of new foreign investment and management (particularly from Japan and other Asian countries). The emphasis was on import substitution and especially on assembling industries. A large industrial estate was developed at Pulo Gadung to the

northeast of the city. At the same time, an industrial expansion began to take place along the passageway connecting Jakarta with Tangerang in the west, Bekasi in the east and Bogor to the south. In the late 1970s, more expansion was taking place in the surrounding regions, known as *BOTABEK* than in Jakarta (Castles, 1989b:247).

In 1973, an export processing zone was also set up near Tanjung Priok, concentrating heavily on garment production (Castles, 1989b:240). After a period of rapid growth, Jakarta's industry experienced a slowdown due to heavy reliance on a protected domestic market vulnerable to a downturn in oil revenues.

Jakarta's manufacturing industry is more diversified compared to other regions in Indonesia. Since 1980, manufacturing employment has dispersed to the *BOTABEK* region. Moreover, whereas from the early 1970s to the mid-1980s its activity was more in capital intensive industries, by the late 1980s the structure gradually changed to labour-intensive industries. In 1975 the major manufacturing industries were motorcycle manufacturing, printing/publishing and weaving respectively (Hill and Weidemann, 1989:23-26). However, since the mid-1980s Jakarta had become significant as a centre for the new booming export-oriented garments industry (Castles, 1989b:240). Therefore, it is not surprising that the largest proportion of both females and males to total manufacturing workers were employed in the textiles and garments industries (Table 6-10). During 1980-90, the share of both women and men working in textiles, garments and leather industries has increased and the increase was particularly great for women.

Table 6-10 also shows that during the ten years to 1990, women manufacturing workers especially became more concentrated in textiles, garments and leather industries. Males were already more dispersed in 1980. An increasing proportion of male factory workers was found in three industries: textiles, garments and leather industries (ISIC 32), wood industries (ISIC 33), and paper industries (ISIC 34).

**Table 6-10. Female employment in major sub-sectors (ISIC 3,8,9)  
by employment status, Jakarta, 1980-90**

Sub sector	Female distribution in each sector (per cent)		Male distribution in each sector (per cent)	
	1980	1990	1980	1990
<b>Manufacturing</b>				
31 Food, beverages & tobacco	12	9	10	9
32 Textile, garments, leather	38	60	20	33
33 Wood	2	2	7	8
34 Paper	5	5	8	10
35 Chemicals	17	13	14	13
36 Non-metallic mineral product	2	2	5	4
37 Basic metal industries	1	1	4	3
38 Fabricated metal product	13	7	18	18
39 Others	10	1	14	2
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
N (000)	(74)	(191)	(208)	(402)

Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Most women factory workers were young and single (Table 6-11). During the 1980s, the proportion of female factory workers who were single has increased because of the increasing number of young women entering factories in Jakarta. Conversely, most male factory workers were married, and the proportion of male factory workers in the middle age group (30-49) increased during the ten year period (Table 6-11).

**Table 6-11. Age distribution, educational level and marital status of manufacturing workers, females and males, Jakarta, 1980-90**

	Females		Males		Change during 1980-90	
	1980	1990	1980	1990	Females	Males
<b>Age group</b>						
15-29	78	79	59	54	+1	-5
30-49	19	20	35	40	+1	+5
50+	3	1	6	6	-2	0
Total (%)	100	100	100	100		
<b>Marital status</b>						
Single	59	62	34	39	+3	+5
Married	29	29	65	60	0	-5
Divorced/ Widowed	12	9	1	1	-3	0
Total (%)	100	100	100	100		
<b>Education</b>						
< Primary School	39	15	24	9	-24	-15
Primary School	29	35	28	26	+6	-2
Junior High	13	21	17	21	+8	+4
Senior High	16	24	27	38	+8	+11
Tertiary	3	5	4	6	+2	+2
Total (%)	100	100	100	100		
N (000)	(74)	(191)	(208)	(402)		

Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Table 6-11 also shows that the proportion of both male and female manufacturing workers with less than primary school education has declined sharply during the period 1980-90; the decline was greater for females. This is offset by a great increase in the proportion of female and male manufacturing workers with junior and senior high school education. This shows that as the educational level of the workforce increase, manufacturing employers increasingly employ better-educated workers. In the case of females, there was also an increase in the share of manufacturing workers with completed primary education.

#### **6.1.4. Finance**

Finance ranks fourth in providing women's employment in Jakarta (Table 6-1). The percentage of women employed in this sector increased during 1971-90 (Table 4-6), although it was still quite small. The increase in women's employment in this sector, particularly during 1980-90, was probably the result of the banking deregulation which occurred in 1983 and 1988. In 1987, 64 per cent of national GDP in banking and other financial services was generated in Jakarta, compared to 66 per cent in 1980 (Forbes, 1989:14).

Commercial building and real estate development have been prominent in encouraging the establishment of the producer services sector in Jakarta (Forbes, 1989). According to the 1986 Economic Census, real estate and business service establishments alone contributed 99 per cent of all establishments in the finance, insurance, real estate and business services (ISIC 8) sector in Jakarta. These sub-economic sectors are likely to absorb clerical workers which tend to employ many better educated women.

### **6.2. Change in broad occupational pattern of employment in Jakarta during 1971-90**

Studies in developed and other developing countries show that as the economy develops, the proportion of females in white collar occupations (professional, administrative and managerial and clerical occupations) increases. This section will investigate whether changing employment in Jakarta follows this pattern, especially among females.

Changes in the share of broad employment for both men and women in Jakarta during 1971-90 can be seen from Table 6-12. Among the white collar occupations, only clerical work has played an increasingly important role for women. The share of employment in professional occupations has increased during 1970-80, but was relatively stable during 1980-90. This pattern was found for both men and women. Administrative

and managerial work only provide a small proportion of employment. The share of both men and women employed in administrative and managerial occupations was less than three per cent during the period.

**Table 6-12. Share of employment in each main occupation, females and males, Jakarta, 1971-90 (per cent)**

Main Occupation	Females			Males		
	1971	1980	1990	1971	1980	1990
Professional	7	9	9	4	6	6
Administration	1	*	*	2	1	2
Clerical	10	12	17	19	17	18
Sales	28	24	22	26	23	24
Services	40	38	32	13	11	10
Production	14	17	20	36	41	41
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
N (000)	(257)	(490)	(888)	(882)	(1339)	(1999)

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 37);

Indonesia, BPS (1983a: Tables 35.1 and 35.2);

Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Tables 28.4 and 28.5)

Note : \* less than one per cent

Women have also played an increasingly important role in production jobs in Jakarta during the last two decades (Table 6-12). The proportion of women employed in this sector increased from 14 per cent in 1971 to 20 per cent in 1990. However, compared with other metropolitan areas in East and Southeast Asia, the proportion of female workers in production work in Jakarta was the lowest (see again Chapter 2). On the other hand, a larger proportion of males than of females was always employed in production and transport occupations since 1970 (more than twice the share of females).

The service sector has always provided the highest percentage of female employment followed by sales, although the proportion of women employed in these occupations has declined.

Overall, clerical and production work have provided an increasing share of female employment in Jakarta and sales and service work a declining share. Unlike for females, the occupational distribution for males was relatively stable during 1980-90.



Before we turn to examine detailed occupations, we will examine change in the age and educational characteristics of employment by broad occupation during 1971-1990. As more and more young and educated women entered the labour force, how did this affect the changing pattern in occupations during the last two decades? Is the changing pattern of women's broad occupations by age group and education similar to that of men?

The overall pattern of change in shares of women's employment by age group has been different from that for men (Tables 6-13 and 6-14). Whereas for women, the highest increase in overall employment was found for those in the youngest age group (15-24), that for men was found in the older age group (45-54). The proportion of women employed in sales, services and production occupations in the age group (15-24) has increased substantially during the last two decades. On the other hand, an increase in the share of women engaged in professional, administrative and managerial occupations was found among the older population.

**Table 6-13. Change in shares of age groups in women's employment by occupation, Jakarta, 1971-90**

Age group	OCCUPATION						
	Profess- ional	Adm. and Man.	Clerical	Sales	Services	Prod.	All Occ.
15-24	-5	-6	+1	+6	+14	+11	+8
25-34	-3	+11	+3	+1	-2	+2	+2
35-44	+3	-2	-2	-7	-10	-8	-8
45-54	+5	-5	-1	-1	-2	-4	-2
55-64	0	+2	-1	+1	0	-1	0

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 36); Indonesia, BPS (1990 census data tape)

Notes : Agriculture is excluded because the percentage is quite small  
 Adm. and Man. = Administrative and Managerial occupations  
 Prod. = Production occupations  
 All occ. = All occupations

**Table 6-14. Change in shares of age groups in male's employment by occupation, Jakarta, 1971-90**

Age group	OCCUPATION						
	Profess- ional	Adm. and Man.	Clerical	Sales	Services	Prod.	All Occ.
15-24	-6	0	-1	-7	-4	-3	-4
25-34	-5	+1	-5	+4	+1	+5	+2
35-44	+1	-4	-1	-2	-3	-3	-3
45-54	+8	+1	+6	+3	+4	0	+3
55-64	+2	+4	+1	+2	+2	+1	+2

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 36); Indonesia, BPS (1990 census data tape)

Notes : Agriculture is excluded because the percentage is quite small  
 Adm. and Man. = Administrative and Managerial occupations  
 Prod. = Production occupations  
 All occ. = All occupations

For males, in almost all occupations the larger increase was found among the older population (Table 6-14). The increase in the proportion of males engaged in professional and clerical occupations was great among those in the age group 45-54, whereas that in sales and production and transportation was the largest for those in the age group 25-34. Unlike the pattern for women, the proportion of employed men in the age group 15-24 has declined during the last two decades. This suggests that younger men increasingly entered and prolonged schooling.

The overall pattern of change in share of educational attainment is similar for both men and women (Table 6-15 and 6-16). The proportion of both men and women with less than primary school education has decreased substantially in all occupations and on the other hand, that with senior high education has increased greatly in all occupations during the last two decades. This is because the workforce is getting better-educated.

**Table 6-15. Change in share of women's educational attainment  
by occupation, Jakarta, 1971-90**

Age group	OCCUPATION						
	Profess- ional	Adm. and Man.	Clerical	Sales	Services	Prod.	All Occ.
< Primary	-9	-7	-7	-42	-42	-40	-39
Primary	-8	-4	-13	+9	+27	+9	+10
Junior High	-18	-41	-41	+7	+8	+14	+2
Senior High	+10	+5	+45	+25	+6	+17	+20
University	+25	+47	+16	+1	+1	0	+7

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 37); Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Table 28.2)

Notes : Agriculture is excluded because the percentage is quite small  
 Adm. and Man. = Administrative and Managerial occupations  
 Prod. = Production occupations  
 All occ. = All occupations

**Table 6-16. Change in share of male's educational attainment  
by occupation, Jakarta, 1971-90**

Age group	OCCUPATION						
	Profess- ional	Adm. and Man.	Clerical	Sales	Services	Prod.	All Occ.
< Primary	-5	-5	-8	-25	-32	-28	-23
Primary	-14	-12	-17	-3	-3	-6	-8
Junior High	-20	-26	-27	+1	+11	+10	-1
Senior High	+15	+18	+43	+24	+23	+23	+27
University	+24	+25	+9	+3	+1	+1	+5

Sources: Indonesia, BPS (1974: Table 37); Indonesia, BPS (1992c: Table 28.1)

Notes : Agriculture is excluded because the percentage is quite small  
 Adm. and Man. = Administrative and Managerial occupations  
 Prod. = Production occupations  
 All occ. = All occupations

The pattern of change in share of educational attainment categories by occupation was similar for both men and women, except for employment in services (see Table 6-15 and 6-16). However, for those employed in administrative and managerial as well as in clerical occupations, the increase in the share of the more-educated (tertiary education) was greater for women. This suggests that these occupations increasingly opened up for better-educated women, and that there were more such women to take up the opportunities.

In sum, during the last two decades more young and educated women were employed in sales and production occupations. This is because of the growing number of supermarkets, shopping complexes and factories, particularly since the mid-1980s. The share of women employed in white collar occupations (professional, administrative and clerical occupations) with senior high education and over has been substantial. However, the proportion of women working in these occupations was not as high as that in sales and production occupations, which suggest limited opportunities in the white collar occupations.

## Conclusion

Although women have increasingly entered paid employment during the last two decades, they were still concentrated in three main sectors: services, manufacturing and trade. Changing women's employment, particularly in trade and manufacturing is influenced by government policies. Chapter 7 will deal with changing women's employment by occupation with emphasis on certain detailed occupations in each broad group which employ a larger share of women.

During the 1980-90 period, utilities, construction, transport and communication as well as manufacturing grew rapidly. Although female employment grew rapidly in these sectors, except in utilities, the fastest female employment growth during the period was in the trade sector. The growth rate of female employment exceeded the growth of the sector. This suggest that in trade, females were crowded in the informal sector.

If we look at changing women's employment by main occupation, the proportion of women employed in sales and services occupations declined, whereas that in clerical and production occupations increased during the period 1970-90. The largest increase in women's employment occurred among those who are young and better-educated (senior high school and above). Migration status of women will be examined in the next chapter when discussing detailed occupations.

## **Chapter 7 : Analysis of Change in Occupational Patterns of Employment in Jakarta during 1980-90**

The general overview of changing employment was discussed in Chapter 6. This chapter discusses the detailed three-digit ISIC breakdowns of occupational patterns of employment in Jakarta during 1980-90 comparing occupations which mostly employed less-educated women with those employing more-educated women. As mentioned by Jellinek (1991), incomes of middle-class women create jobs for less-educated women, and there are also some links between the jobs held by less-educated women. Men's employment will also be looked into. Trends in occupational sex segregation will be analysed in the final section.

### **7.1. Occupational pattern of employment by education**

Before we examine detailed occupational patterns of employment during 1980-90, we will examine change in the educational characteristics of employment by broad occupations during 1980-90. In the earlier chapter, we have examined the change during 1971-90. Is the pattern of change in educational level of employment in each occupation during 1980-90 similar to that during 1971-90?

In 1990, the pattern of employment by occupation and education for females is similar to that of males where the educational level of employment in professional, administrative and clerical occupations was senior high education and higher, whereas that of those in sales, services and production occupations was primary school and lower (Table 7-1).

**Table 7-1. Employment by occupation and education,  
females and males, Jakarta, 1990**

Occupation	< Primary School	Primary School	Junior High	Senior High	Tertiary	Total
<b>Females</b>						
Professional	2	2	3	54	39	100
Administrators	1	3	4	23	69	100
Clerks	2	5	7	60	26	100
Sales	31	27	14	26	2	100
Services	37	45	10	7	1	100
Production	18	39	24	18	1	100
<b>Males</b>						
Professional	1	3	4	40	52	100
Administrators	2	4	6	30	58	100
Clerks	2	9	13	57	19	100
Sales	19	32	19	27	3	100
Services	16	35	21	26	2	100
Production	15	33	21	29	2	100

Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

The overall pattern of change in share of educational attainment was similar for both women and men (Table 7-2). The proportion of both women and men with less than primary school education decreased substantially in all occupations and that with senior high education increased greatly during the ten years. For women, change in shares of education during 1980-90 was different from that of men. For white collar occupations, a great increase was found for those with tertiary education with the highest increase for those employed as administrators. Men employed in professional and administrative occupations also follow a similar pattern to that of women where the share of those with tertiary education increased sharply. However, the pattern of men employed as clerks was different from that of women, where a great increase was found for those with senior high education.

**Table 7-2. Change in share of employment's educational attainment by occupation, females and males, Jakarta, 1980-90**

Occupation	< Primary School	Primary School	Junior High	Senior High	Tertiary
<b>Females</b>					
Professional	-2	-3	-7	-9	+21
Administrators	-3	-4	-1	-17	+25
Clerks	0	0	-7	-3	+10
Sales	-28	+5	+4	+18	+1
Services	-34	+23	+7	+3	+1
Production	-23	+5	+9	+9	0
<b>Males</b>					
Professional	-4	-9	-14	-3	+30
Administrators	-1	0	-1	-7	+9
Clerks	-2	-2	-4	+6	+2
Sales	-19	0	+4	+13	+2
Services	-17	+1	+5	+10	+1
Production	-18	-1	+5	+13	+1

Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Both women and men who were employed in blue collar occupations (sales, services and production) showed a similar pattern where a sharp decrease was found for those with less than primary school education. However, the greatest increase for men employed in sales, services and production was found for those with senior high education. For women, the pattern of increase was different for each occupation.

## **7.2. Change in detailed occupational pattern of employment in Jakarta during 1980-90**

Following on from the general discussion on changing occupation in Chapter 6, this section will look at the changing occupations in Jakarta during 1980-90 based on three-digit code.

Analysis of women's employment in Jakarta based on the two-digit occupation has been undertaken by Jones (1984b) when he examined changes in women's employment in metropolitan areas of East and Southeast Asia. However, for the analysis of detailed occupation in Jakarta he only used the 1971 census. Analysis of women's

occupations in Jakarta based on the three-digit code has been undertaken by Widarti (1991) using the 1985 Intercensal Survey. However, the analyses by both authors were based on cross-sectional data.

It would be more interesting if analyses of change based on the detailed occupational code can be examined since 1971. Unfortunately the 1971 census data tape for Jakarta was corrupted, therefore it is not possible to examine changes in the three-digit occupations since 1971. However, some data based on two-digit occupations in 1971, which was taken from Jones (1984b), will be used. As mentioned earlier, changes in males occupations will also be looked into in order to gain a better perspective on changes in women's occupations, an approach not adopted in the previous studies mentioned (Jones, 1984b and Widarti, 1992).

This analysis on changing occupations is based on the selective detailed code occupations for each group, in which women tend to be employed. The analysis is divided into two sub sections; those which are likely to employ less-educated women and those which tend to employ more-educated women. The former consist of services, sales, textile and garment factory workers. The latter consist of bookkeepers, cashiers and related workers, clerical, and teachers.

The results are presented in Table 7-3. We need to keep in mind that there is a problem of comparability between the two years. Tables 7-3 and 7-4 show some evidence of non-comparability, particularly the trends for codes 410 and 510 which are most unlikely. Some of these women and men in 1980 were almost certainly categorised somewhere else.



Table 7-3. Women workers in specific occupations, Jakarta, 1980-90

Code	Occupation	Number of women workers		Proportion of women in the labour force	
		1980	1990	1980	1990
71-79	Nurses, midwives, physiotherapists	12,469	11,857	2.6	1.4
131-139	Teachers	22,920	45,701	4.8	5.3
321	Stenographers, typists & teletypists <sup>1</sup>	2,576	16,687	0.5	1.9
331	Bookkeepers and cashiers & related workers n.e.c. <sup>2</sup>	16,349	57,544	3.4	6.6
391-399	Clerical work n.e.c.	30,960	55,539	6.5	6.4
410	Working proprietors in retail trade	1,430	50,507	0.3	5.8
451	Salesmen, shop assistants & demonstrators	11,678	66,686	2.5	7.7
452	Vendors <sup>3</sup>	90,260	60,436	19.0	7.0
510	Working proprietors in catering & lodging services	215	13,808	*	1.6
531, 532	Cooks, waiters, bartenders & related workers	5,831	15,835	1.2	1.8
540	Maids	143,185	204,726	30.1	23.6
560	Laundryers, dry cleaners & pressers	2,473	5,274	0.5	0.6
570	Hairdressers, barbers, beauticians	4,432	10,128	0.9	1.2
751-756, 791-799	Garment and textile factory workers, tailors	38,748	105,985	8.2	12.2
	Others	91,801	147,496	19.3	16.9
Total		475,327	868,209	100.0	100.0

Sources : Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Notes : <sup>1</sup> Teletypists were classified together with stenographers and typists (321) in the 1980 census, but were classified separately (323) in the 1990 census.

<sup>2</sup> Bookkeeping and cashier were classified together (331) in the 1980 census, but were classified separately in the 1990 census.

<sup>3</sup> According to the 1980 census, vendors were classified into four categories that is kiosk vendors (452), pavement vendors (453), street vendors (454) and newsvendors (455). However, in the 1990 census all types of vendors were grouped together (452).

\* less than 0.1 per cent

Labourers not elsewhere classified (999) and workers not classifiable by occupation are excluded.

Table 7-4. Male workers in specific occupations, Jakarta, 1980-90

Code	Occupation	Number of male workers		Proportion of men in the labour force	
		1980	1990	1980	1990
71-79	Nurses, midwives, physiotherapists	6,221	1,962	0.4	0.1
131-139	Teachers	23,089	40,373	1.7	2.0
321	Stenographers, typists & teletypists <sup>1</sup>	3,726	12,857	0.3	0.6
331,332, 339	Bookkeepers, cashiers & related workers n.e.c. <sup>2</sup>	44,887	89,835	3.2	4.5
391-399	Clerical workers n.e.c.	112,409	177,688	8.1	8.8
410	Working proprietors in retail trade	7,128	147,047	0.5	7.3
451	Salesmen, shop assistants & demonstrators	41,301	89,689	3.0	4.5
452	Vendors <sup>3</sup>	202,225	175,561	14.6	8.7
510	Working proprietors in catering & lodging services	568	16,896	*	0.8
531,532	Cooks, waiters, bartenders & related workers	12,585	19,214	0.9	1.0
540	Maids	23,133	25,361	1.7	1.3
560	Launderers, dry cleaners & pressers	423	981	*	*
570	Hairdressers, barbers, beauticians	3,021	3,856	0.2	0.2
700-789, 791-910	Factory workers, tailors	128,325	258,854	9.3	12.9
985	Motor vehicle drivers	111,999	178,412	8.0	8.9
951	Bricklayers, carpenters & other construction work	38,723	57,662	2.8	2.9
959	Construction work n.e.c.	44,359	48,402	3.2	2.4
	Others	583,455	660,631	42.1	33.1
TOTAL		1,389,828	2,013,218	100.0	100.0

Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Note : <sup>1</sup> Teletypists were classified together with stenographers and typists (321) in the 1980 census, but were classified separately (323) in the 1990 census.

<sup>2</sup> Bookkeeping and cashier were classified together (331) in the 1980 census, but were classified separately in the 1990 census.

<sup>3</sup> According to the 1980 census, vendors were classified into four categories that is kiosk vendors (452), pavement vendors (453), street vendors (454) and news-vendors (455). However, in the 1990 census all types of vendors were grouped together (452).

\* less than one per cent.

Labourers not elsewhere classified (999) and workers not classifiable by occupation are excluded.

### *The importance of services for women's employment*

Based on three digit occupations, household maids still easily rank first in total women's employment in Jakarta in 1990 (Table 7-3). If we look at the trend over time, the proportion of women working as household maids tended to decline during 1971-1990, although the absolute number has increased (Table 7-5). Unlike females, the proportion of males employed as household maids was quite small (less than two percent) during the period 1980-90 (see Table 7-4). Therefore, analysis on household maids will mainly concentrate on women.

We need to keep in mind that there is a segmentation in this occupation: those who are employed by the lower range of middle income earners, such as *kampung* dwellers and those who are employed by the upper range of middle-income earner outside the *kampung* (see Jellinek, 1991). Unfortunately the census classified all types of domestic service into one category. Jellinek's study (1991:86) showed that in a poor *kampung*, a domestic servant's job - whose employer owned a large dried-food stall along the road near the community - was to buy and prepare her employer's meals and to keep the house tidy. Jellinek (1991:82) described this in her study in a poor *kampung* in Jakarta:

As an office worker or trader prospered he or she hired neighbours to wash clothes, cook and clean the home. Instead of sewing clothes themselves they went to the local seamstress. Instead of carting buckets of water or raw produce from the market, they asked an unemployed to get it for them.

Table 7-5. Women workers in specific occupations, Jakarta, 1971-90

Code	Occupation	Number of women workers			Proportion of women in the labour force		
		1971*	1980	1990	1971*	1980	1990
71-79	Nurses, midwives, physiotherapists	5,493	12,469	11,857	2.1	2.5	1.3
131-139	Teachers	9,507	22,943	45,701	3.6	4.7	5.1
391-399	Clerical work n.e.c.	12,750	31,048	56,413	4.9	6.3	6.3
531, 532	Cooks, waiters, bartenders & related workers	5,490	5,895	16,367	2.1	1.2	1.8
540	Maids	75,517	154,424	218,127	29.0	31.3	24.5
791-799	Tailors, dressmakers, sewers, upholsterers	11,752	32,996	101,628	4.5	6.7	11.4

Sources : \* Jones (1984b: Table 2.11)  
Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

According to Jellinek (1991:86), many of these service were performed by the poorest *kampung* dwellers. They performed the unskilled chores, such as laundry, domestic work and carrying. They moved from one activity to another depending on what their neighbours required. Domestic servants who are employed by the upper range of middle-income earner are more fortunate, because they are paid higher and the workplace has better facilities.

In colonial times, being employed as maids of the high-class family (*ningrat*) used to be an honourable status. People used to be proud to work for the '*ningrat*' although they were lowly paid. This is because they were close to and could help the higher class person, therefore their status was quite high. After independence, the educated upper class employed the maids for domestic services, such as cooking, washing and taking care of the children. Nowadays, with both husband and wife joined the labour force, some maids are given higher responsibilities other than taking care of the children, such as budgeting the daily shopping.

A study by LPUI (*Lembaga Penelitian Universitas Indonesia*=Research Centre, University of Indonesia) found that in the 1990s maids have higher bargaining power than before. Maids in Jakarta often ask the prospective employer the number and age of children in the households, whether or not the prospective employer has a washing-machine, hand-pump or electric pump before they decided to take up the job (Kompas, 9 July 1993). This is to make sure that they will receive a high salary with good working conditions.

As mentioned earlier, the number of women employed as household maids has increased over time. The increase during 1971-80 partly suggests the increasing number of the middle-class groups employing household maids, and partly suggests the increasing tendency for paid maids to replace unpaid relatives to take care of the household tasks.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Personal communication with Dr. Terence Hull

The increase during 1980-1990 can be explained by the further increase in the paid maids during the period,<sup>2</sup> the increasing number of women employed as baby-sitters<sup>3</sup> in addition to the household maids, and the insecurity of petty trade, which resulted in many women entering domestic services (see Jellinek, 1991:76,78). However, as mentioned earlier, the proportion of all women employed as household maids declined during 1980-90 because some other occupations were growing much faster.

Along with declining fertility, the number of households with children below five declined. However, this was probably offset by the growth of the middle-class who could afford maids since more and more young married women from this group were in the labour force. It is not unusual to have more than one maid and one baby-sitter among the middle-class groups.

In 1980, 30 per cent of women in Jakarta who were employed as household maids were divorced or separated (Table 7-6). This suggests that many divorced or separated women from lower socio-economic classes entered domestic service because they do not need any skill to enter this occupation. A study in Surabaya (Steele, 1985:387) found that many divorced, separated or single migrant women with low education came from neighbouring areas to work as prostitutes or household maids.

During the last decade, the proportion of women employed in domestic service who are divorced or separated has declined substantially as the result of decline in divorce

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<sup>2</sup> During 1980-90, the proportion of household maids who are paid has increased by ten per cent (1980 and 1990 census data tapes).

<sup>3</sup> The term baby sitter in Indonesia is different from that in developed countries. Whereas in developed countries the term refers to part-time work, in Indonesia it refers to a full-time work. Moreover, in Indonesia in the 1970s, baby sitters refers to those hired trained nurses as child minders in the home (Hull and Rahardjo, 1984:). In the 1980s, baby sitters do not necessarily refer to trained nurses, but mostly applied to those with, at most, primary education who are trained as child minders. They are considered to have the necessary training for tasks such as mixing infant formula, putting the mother's mind at rest about 'proper' child care, although it can be an expensive alternative. These babysitters always wear uniform (white uniform for nurses) when they are working and are paid more than household maids.

rates and a tendency for maids to be from younger age groups than before. On the contrary, the proportion of maids who are single has increased by 11 per cent (Table 7-6).

**Table 7-6. Age distribution, educational level and marital status of women employed as household maids, Jakarta, 1980-90 (per cent)**

Age	1980	1990	Educ- ation	1980	1990	Marital status	1980	1990
15-29	71	77	< PS	76	39	Single	58	69
30-49	22	18	PS	22	51	Married	12	15
50-64	7	5	JHS	2	9	Wid./Div.	30	16
			SHS +	*	1			
Total	100	100		100	100	Total	100	100
N (000)	(143)	(205)		(143)	(205)		(143)	(205)

Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Notes : \* less than one per cent

PS = primary school

JHS = junior high school

SHS + = senior high school and higher

Wid/Div = Widowed or Divorced

Among the occupations which mainly employ less-educated women, the change of education of women employed as maids has been substantial. The proportion of female maids with less than primary school education decreased by 37 per cent during the period and those with completed primary school education increased by 29 per cent (Table 7-6). On the other hand, the proportion of those with junior high education increased from two per cent in 1980 to nine per cent in 1990. The increase in those with junior high education suggests the increase in numbers of baby sitters, who are paid higher salaries than the household maids.

In sum, household maids has remained a very important occupational group for less-educated women during the last two decades. The number of women employed as household maids has been increasing, although their share has been declining. Moreover, women maids tend to be younger, more likely to be single and better-educated than before.

### *Sales occupations*

As in domestic service, there is a segmentation in this occupation. Some work in the informal sector and the others in the formal sector. The former consisted mainly of petty traders, which in the censuses are grouped as working proprietors in retail trade and vendors. The latter includes shop assistants and saleswomen and demonstrators. Most women employed in petty trade are self-employed, whereas most of the shop assistants and saleswomen were employees (1980 and 1990 census data tapes). Surprisingly, the proportion of women employed as shop assistants and saleswomen who were family workers had increased during the last decade, perhaps indicating an increase in the importance of small, family-run shops.

There have been changes in the share of women's employment in sales occupations (Table 7-3). The share of vendors, which ranked second (18.5 per cent) in total female employment in 1980, had declined substantially ten years later. On the other hand, the proportion of women employed as working proprietors in the retail trade (410) and salesmen as well as shop assistants and demonstrators (451) had increased by more than five per cent respectively during 1980-90.

The share of men's employment in sales occupation has also changed during the period 1980-90 (Table 7-4). The pattern of change is similar to that of women where the proportion of those employed in vendors declined dramatically and those employed as working proprietors in retail trade as well as salesmen, shop assistants and demonstrators increased. For both women and men, the positive change was greater for those employed as working proprietors in retail trade.

During the last decade, both women and men who are employed as vendors in Jakarta not only declined in relative terms but also in absolute terms (Tables 7-3 and 7-4). However, we should be careful in analysing change of this sector during 1980-90, because of the different definition of vendors used in the 1980 and the 1990 censuses. In the 1980



census, vendors were classified into four categories - kiosk vendors (452), pavement vendors (453), street vendors (454) and newsvendors (455). In 1990 all kinds of vendors were grouped together (452: pavement vendors, street vendors and other vendors). Kiosk vendors, which in 1980 accounted for most women classified as vendors (77 per cent), were not mentioned specifically in the 1990 census. This may have led to some underrecording of the number of vendors.

Although employment in vending in Jakarta has declined for both women and men during the ten year, the decline was greater for women (Tables 7-3 and 7-4). This is probably because as kiosk vending became more restricted in Jakarta, vending become more of a male job because it needs a higher level of mobility. Street vending as well as pavement and newsvending all need a higher level of mobility, especially when they need to avoid the *TIBUM* (*penertiban umum*= the city authorities who patrol the number of vendors in some areas in order to make Jakarta less cluttered by the informal sector). Tables 7-7 and 7-8 shows that during 1980-90 vending was increasingly dominated by young and single males.

As noted in Chapter 4, within the ten years (1980-90) there have been many changes in Jakarta as the city developed, including residential changes as the city became a metropolis. More housing estates were built and the slum areas were cleared. Along with these changes, many kiosk vendors - who usually carried out their business near their houses - appear to have disappeared and moved to the fringe areas (Jellinek, 1991). Moreover, the increasing number of shopping complexes and supermarkets as Jakarta become more capitalist, not only has replaced the function of local markets but has also further reduced the number of kiosk vendors.

**Table 7-7. Women employed as working proprietors in retail trade, vendors and saleswomen/ shop assistants by age group, marital status, education and migrant status, Jakarta, 1980-90**

	Working proprietors		Vendors		Sales-women	Shop assistants
	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990
<b>Age</b>						
15-29	28	22	30	31	75	70
30-49	51	60	55	54	23	26
50-64	21	18	15	15	2	4
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>Marital status</b>						
Single	18	7	10	12	66	59
Married	49	69	62	67	25	36
Widowed/Divorced	33	24	28	21	9	5
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>Education</b>						
< Primary	25	36	66	50	24	12
Primary	31	31	21	34	33	20
Junior High	26	16	8	9	20	17
Senior High +	18	17	5	7	23	51
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>Migrant status</b>						
Non-migrants	41	60	58	58	29	31
Recent migrants	8	7	14	15	13	16
Settled migrants	51	33	28	27	57	53
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>N (000)</b>	(1)	(51)	(90)	(59)	(12)	(66)

Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Note : Settled migrants are persons that had been born outside Jakarta but were already resident there in 1985 and were enumerated there in 1990

**Table 7-8. Men working as working proprietors and vendors by age group, education and marital status, Jakarta, 1980-90**

	Working proprietors		Vendors	
	1980	1990	1980	1990
<b>Age group</b>				
15-29	29	22	35	40
30-49	52	58	49	47
50-64	19	20	16	13
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
<b>Education</b>				
< Primary School	18	16	41	28
Primary School	35	30	33	43
Junior High	17	20	15	16
Senior High +	30	34	11	13
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
<b>Marital status</b>				
Single	14	13	18	24
Married	85	85	80	74
Wid./Div.	1	2	2	2
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
<b>N (000)</b>	<b>(7)</b>	<b>(147)</b>	<b>(202)</b>	<b>(176)</b>

Source: 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Petty trade was the second most important occupation among the total employment of women until 1980 (see Jones, 1984b:Table 2.11 for 1971 data). In the 1970s, among the unskilled workers, trade was regarded as the best way to improve one's income in Kebun Kacang, Jakarta (Jellinek,1991:73). The importance of trade was associated with the boom in multi-storey construction near Kebun Kacang. Jellinek stated (1991:73):

Pedlars gathered around each building site ready to provide the drinks, snacks, rice, cigarettes and ices needed by tired and hungry construction workers who were often in the city without their families. With the expansion of office space came more office workers, police, guards and military men to patronise the trader's wares.

However, since the mid-1970s this occupation has been considered insecure because of the anti-trading campaigns by the government to clear the petty traders from the main streets. Therefore, the trading area for the small-scale traders became limited, and they often face competition from other traders or official canteens. Moreover,

because of the construction of highways, it was difficult for the traders to reach their trading places because they needed to walk further to reach them. Transport was more difficult and expensive due to the banning of the *becak*.

Petty traders were not only cleared from the main street but also from major market places when these markets were renovated and their access routes widened (Jellinek, 1991 and Murray, 1991). Many more lost their sites when the central bus station at Lapangan Banteng was transformed into a park (Jellinek, 1991 and Murray, 1991). Because of this policy, traders lacked a secure and strategic trade location.

Although the municipal government provided new multi-storey market places for the street traders, many traders cannot afford these new facilities (Jellinek, 1991 and Murray, 1991). This is because the cost is too expensive and the cubicles were poorly designed, small, dark, dingy and unventilated, which discouraged customers from going to them. Traders also face many bureaucratic obstacles to their entry into official markets, and they needed to wait out the process of market renovation and kiosk allocation. Most petty traders could not stop working because they had no reserves and had to feed their families every day.

As a consequence of financial, bureaucratic and design problems, over 40 per cent of the kiosks in Jakarta's newly renovated markets remained empty many years after their completion (Jellinek, 1991). Because of these difficulties, many petty traders moved to the periphery and continued their trading activities there. As vending became restricted in Jakarta, working proprietors in retail trade increasingly played an important role. As for vendors, women employed as working proprietors in retail trade were mostly in the older age group, settled migrants and had a primary school education or less (Table 7-7). The proportion of married women involved in this occupation has increased substantially: from 49 per cent in 1980 to 69 per cent in 1990. All this suggests that petty trade has become

increasingly a preserve of older, less-educated women. Younger women, generally better-educated, moved into other sectors.

In her study, Jellinek (1991:78) found that some women petty traders moved to the service sector, such as domestic service and laundry work. Some young girls preferred to be involved in prostitution rather than domestic service because of the restrictive nature and low status of domestic service.

As mentioned earlier, employment opportunities for males as working proprietors in retail trade also increasingly opened up during 1980-90. The proportion of males engaged as working proprietors in retail trade (410) increased sharply from less than one per cent in 1980 to more than seven per cent in 1990 (Table 7-4). The extraordinary rise in working proprietors in retail trade for both males and females between 1980-90 was probably due to some changes in the characteristics of occupations included under certain codes. Men employed in these kinds of occupations were mostly in the older age group and married. Compared with that of women, men employed as working proprietors were better-educated (Tables 7-7 and 7-8).

The occupations of salesmen, shop assistants and demonstrators (451) have also grown in importance for both women and men during 1980-90 (Tables 7-3 and 7-4). The increase was particularly striking for women. This suggests that the booming of supermarkets in Jakarta in the 1980s gave more opportunities to women. The characteristics of women as well as men employed in these occupations is that they are mostly single, young, and better-educated (Table 7-9).

**Table 7-9. Salesmen, shop assistants by age group, education, marital status and sex, Jakarta, 1980-90**

	Females		Males	
	1980	1990	1980	1990
<b>Age group</b>				
15-29	75	70	60	61
30-49	23	26	34	34
50-64	2	4	6	5
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
<b>Marital status</b>				
Single	66	59	47	53
Married	25	36	52	46
Wid./Div.	9	5	1	1
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
<b>Education</b>				
< Primary	24	12	21	8
Primary	33	20	35	24
Junior High	20	17	22	23
Senior High +	23	51	22	45
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
(N)	(12)	(67)	(41)	(90)

Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

For women employed in these kinds of activities, there was an increase in the proportion married (Table 7-9). This suggests that the increasing number of supermarkets and department stores had opened up employment opportunities particularly for young and single women,<sup>4</sup> whereas married women were increasingly employed as saleswomen. The latter kind of activities mushroomed in Jakarta in the 1980s and they were popular among married women because they could be combined with domestic duties and child-care.

<sup>4</sup> It would seem that compared to developed countries, a department store or a supermarket in Jakarta employs many more women attendants. Moreover, working in these kinds of activities is considered as prestigious among the lower socio-economic class in Jakarta although they are lowly paid.

### *Textile and garment factory workers*

Women working as textile and garment factory workers ranked second in total female employment, after household maids. The share of women employed in this sector was more than doubled during 1980-90. This is not surprising since many export processing zones were established in the 1980s.

Females as textile and garment factory workers were mostly young (below the age of 30), and single (Table 7-10). Young and single women are preferred in the Export Processing Zones because many manufacturing jobs require fixed working hours and overtime work. On the other hand, employing married women was likely to be more costly for employers because of maternity leave provisions and absenteeism when the children are sick. Many argue that women working in the First World multinational factories located in Third World export-processing zones are ruthlessly exploited in harsh factory environments where they suffer long hours, poor working conditions, insecure, unhealthy and unsafe jobs, and their wages are so low that they are not even sufficient to cover individual subsistence (Frobel, Heinrichs and Kreye, 1980; Elson and Pearson, 1981:97). Moreover, discriminatory practices by employers and disruptive world market forces result in a high turnover rate as women are forced to change jobs, are forced to resign when they marry, or are laid off in frequent recessions. They face constant harassment by employers, supervisors and even the government, especially if they attempt to unionise or take any labour action (Elson and Pearson, 1981).

**Table 7-10. Women as textile and garment factory workers by age group, marital status and education, Jakarta, 1980-90**

Age group	1980	1990	Marital status	1980	1990	Education	1980	1990
							0	
15-29	81	80	Single	58	61	< Primary	45	17
30-49	16	19	Married	28	29	Primary	31	43
50-64	3	1	Wid./Div.	14	10	Junior High	13	26
						Senior High +	11	14
Total (%)	100	100		100	100		100	100
N (000)	(24)	(91)		(24)	(91)		(24)	(91)

Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Women are preferred in the manufacturing sector because of their subordinate position within society as a whole (Hein, 1984:251). From the management point of view, low educational background, lack of work experience, tenuous union activity and the feminine characteristics of shyness and fear, create a fairly docile work force which very often tolerates below-minimum wages (Wolf, 1984:20). The fact that the multinational companies in developing countries engage in subcontracting of labour intensive products for export is another factor which contributes to female employment in the manufacturing sector.

Despite the negative side frequently stressed in this literature, working in the factories are still preferable for less-educated women and considered as ‘more prestigious’ than working in agriculture or in domestic service. This is because of the more regular working hours and less employer control over the workers in the factories compared to domestic servants (Wolf, 1984 and Mather, 1983). Moreover, women who work in factories gain non-economic benefits which include the ability to earn independent income for young women and spend it on desired consumer purchases. A study by Wolf (1984:230) in Central Java found that many of the workers enjoyed being able to go to the movies, visit friends outside the village, and experiment with make-up which they feel is improper behaviour for a married woman. A single girl has the freedom to leave the



village for entertainment and has money to spend. They also have the opportunity to delay marriage and childbearing and choose their own spouses.

Although most women factory workers in Jakarta were single in 1990, the proportion of workers who were married has increased during the 1980-90 period (Table 7-10). This suggests that the number of women employed in sub-contracting and putting-out system is increasing, or possibly that more of the women who were already working in this way are now being recorded. A study on garment industries in West Java (Sulastri and Siti A., 1991:46-48) found that most of the women workers in these occupations had only a primary school education or lower. Therefore, the increasing share of women employed in these occupations with primary education or lower in Jakarta during 1980-90 suggests that many of these women were sub-contracting or putting-out workers. The West Java study also found that many women preferred to work in these industries because they did not have any other skills. This reflects that these kinds of occupations do not need high skill and the work is often passed on from generation to generation.

Moreover, many married women are involved in this kind of activity because of its flexibility. It can be entered anytime and is more compatible with domestic and child-care tasks or other income-generating activities such as kiosk vending or food selling. There are many cases where other members of the household were also involved in this activity as a survival strategy. Therefore, this activity is considered as beneficial not only for the employer because it can keep production cost low, but also for the employees, although the wage is quite low.

The pattern of change in the proportion of women working in these occupations by education is similar to that for maids - a substantial decline occurred in the proportion of those with less than primary school education (Table 7-11). However, whereas for maids, the decline was offset by a massive increase for those with primary school education, for the textile and garment workers, the decline was offset by an increase in the

proportion of those with junior and senior high school education. This suggests that as the supply of workers were increasingly better-educated over time, young women with higher education were attracted to work in factories, whereas the young with primary education or less have no choice but to work as household maids.

**Table 7-11. The educational attainment of women employed as textile and garment factory workers and household maids, Jakarta, 1980-90**

Education	Textile & garment workers		Household maids	
	1980	1990	1980	1990
< Primary	45	17	76	39
Primary	31	43	22	51
Junior High	13	26	2	9
Senior High +	11	14	*	1
Total (%)	100	100	100	100
N (000)	(24)	(91)	(143)	(205)

Sources : Tables 7-6 and 7-10

Note : \* less than one per cent

In 1990, almost 40 per cent of female textile and garment workers in Jakarta were non-migrants (1990 census data tape). A study on an area of rapid new factory development on the eastern periphery of Bandung (Braadbaart, 1992) suggested that the higher local origin of those employed in the factories have been part of a conscious strategy of management to begin by hiring local labour, mainly to prevent potential local unrest in an area characterised by high youth unemployment.

Workers use various kinds of economic strategies to survive on their low incomes, including shared purchases between room-mates in the barrack accommodation (cooking equipment and other utensils, meals, soap, clothes, cosmetics, toothpaste), the purchase of food or cooked meals on credit from local stores and foodstalls; going home and obtaining 'subsidies' from parents or other relatives (in the form of cash or food) (White, 1993:135). The *arisan* is one of their ways of saving to buy needed items.

The factory creates other economic activities, such as cheap catering and housing for the migrant workers. The housing is very basic; mainly barrack-like extensions to their houses or separate structures in their backyards, so-called *bedeng* (White, 1993:135).

### **More-educated women**

The discussion in this section is about changing employment in three professional occupations which have absorbed the largest share of more-educated women. The occupations which will be discussed are bookkeeping, cashiers and related work, clerical work and teaching occupations.

Professionals are mostly employed in the government sector. It is interesting to note that while in the 1970s, working in the government sector was favoured among the young and educated, since the late 1980s many of them prefer to work in the private sector. Working in the government sector used to be more prestigious although the salary was low. In the 1990s, the salary gap widened between private and public sector, therefore it is more realistic to choose private sector jobs in 1990s. Because the modern private sector has been booming in Jakarta since the mid-1980s, it is preferred especially among the young who just graduated from the university. A poll by Tempo (1993) found that most of those who graduated from university would like to work in the private sector. The reasons given were that working in the private sector is more secure financially, and more efficient compared to working in the government sector.

### ***Bookkeepers, cashiers and related workers***

Among the professional occupations, the increase in the number of women employed as bookkeepers, cashiers and related workers has been the greatest (Table 7-3). From the table we can see that the number of women in these occupations has increased more than threefold, compared to doubling for men during the period (see Table 7-4). This suggests that the rapid growth of the financial sector during 1980-90 favoured women more than men.

Women as well as men employed in these occupations mostly had a senior high education (Table 7-12). Although most women in these occupations have senior high education, a sharp increase was found for those with university education during 1980-90. The proportion of women employed in these occupations who graduated from university had increased from 16 per cent in 1980 to 25 per cent in 1990.

**Table 7-12. Bookkeepers and cashiers, clerks and teachers by age, sex and education, Jakarta, 1980-90**

	Bookkeepers, cashiers		Clerks		Teachers	
	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990
<b>Age</b>						
<b>Females</b>						
15-29	65	68	66	65	50	43
30-49	33	33	32	33	46	49
50-64	2	2	2	2	4	8
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>Males</b>						
15-29	30	39	37	36	36	32
30-49	60	51	55	54	57	53
50-64	10	10	8	10	7	15
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>Education</b>						
<b>Females</b>						
< Primary	1	2	3	4	1	-
Primary	3	2	7	11	1	1
Junior high	11	6	15	10	6	3
Senior high	69	65	63	58	76	61
Tertiary	16	25	12	17	16	35
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
<b>Males</b>						
< Primary	1	*	4	3	2	1
Primary	4	3	11	10	3	1
Junior high	10	7	19	16	6	2
Senior high	58	63	55	58	62	45
Tertiary	27	27	11	13	27	51
Total (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
N (000)	(16)	(58)	(31)	(56)	(23)	(46)

Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

### *Clerical Work*

The number of women as well as men employed in clerical occupations has also increased during 1980-90 (Tables 7-3 and 7-4). The unusual change in employment within clerical occupation for both men and women shown in Table 7-13 suggests that there was a reclassification, particularly in clerks not elsewhere classified (ISIC 399). This might be due to the more diversification of jobs in the modern sector in 1990, which tend to employ better-educated population. In 1990, both women and men were mainly employed as stock clerks (391), correspondence and reporting clerks (393), and other clerks (399) with the largest numbers employed in the last two categories.

**Table 7-13. Employment in clerical work by detailed occupations and sex, Jakarta, 1980-90**

Code	Occupation	Females		Males	
		1980	1990	1980	1990
391	Stock clerks	1	23	2	21
392	Material & production planning clerks	1	1	2	2
393	Correspondence & reporting clerks	1	38	2	27
394	Receptionists & travel agency clerks	5	8	1	4
395	Library & filing clerks	1	1	1	1
399	Clerks not elsewhere classified	91	29	92	45
	Total (%)	100	100	100	100
	N (000)	(31)	(56)	(112)	(178)

Sources: Indonesia. BPS. 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

The age distribution of women employed in clerical occupations is different from that of men (Table 7-12). Whereas most women in this kind of occupation were in the younger age group (15-29), that of men were in the older age group (30-49). Both women and men employed as clerks were mostly graduated from senior high school. However, if we look at the change during the ten year period, the proportion of women clerks with senior high education declined, whereas that of men increased.

## Teachers

Women working as teachers increased their share during 1971-90 (Table 7-3). However, the growth of women employed in teaching during 1980-90 was not as great as that during 1971-80 (Jones, 1984). This suggests a higher demand for teachers in the 1970s as the government introduced compulsory primary education. Of the teaching categories during 1980-90, primary school teachers declined in importance, while upper secondary and training course teachers increased their share of the teaching profession (Table 7-14). This suggests that there was a change in demand for primary and upper secondary teachers. Two probable reasons are, first, that the population of 5-10 age group declined as a result of fertility decline since 1970. Second, with the achievement of near-universal primary education, enrolment rates were increasing more at the secondary level.

**Table 7-14. Change in the distribution of employment within the teaching category by sex, Jakarta, 1980-90 (per cent)**

Code	Occupation	Females		Males	
		1980	1990	1980	1990
131	University & higher education teachers	4	5	9	12
132	Upper secondary teachers	7	14	13	20
133	Lower secondary teachers	15	13	18	16
134	Primary school teachers	52	44	42	32
135	Pre-primary school teachers	8	10	1	1
136	Training course teachers	3	6	3	7
137	Special education teachers	0	1	1	1
139	Teachers n.e.c.	10	8	14	11
	Total (%)	100	100	100	100
	N (000)	(23)	(46)	(23)	(40)

Sources: Indonesia, BPS. 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

The proportion of males working as teachers also increased during the period 1980-90, although it was quite small compared to that of women (Tables 7-3 and 7-4). Nevertheless, men are more likely to teach at higher educational levels than women (Table 7-14). Within the teaching profession, while women were concentrated in primary and pre-primary education, men were much more concentrated in lower secondary teaching and above, and were much more prominent than women as tertiary level teachers. The proportion of men in university teaching was more than twice that of women (Table 7-14).

Training courses grew in importance during 1980-1990 as educated young job seekers were likely to improve their qualifications by taking English or computer courses before searching for work. Swasono and Sulistyaningsih (1989:14) found that 41 per cent of secondary school graduates attended private training courses which covered such a variety of skills as typing, computer applications, and English language.

The characteristics of women employed as teachers are different from those of bookkeepers and cashiers as well as clerks (Table 7-12). Whereas women in the former occupations were increasingly in the older age group during the period, the latter were mostly young. This suggests that young, educated women increasingly entered bookkeeping and cashier as well as clerical occupations. And teaching occupations became increasingly a preserve for older women, as other attractive white collar job opportunities are available for young and educated women.

Unlike women, men who are employed as teachers have similar pattern of age distribution with that of bookkeepers, cashiers as well as clerks where they are concentrated in the older age group. If we compare the educational attainment among these employment, the highest educational background was found for teachers, followed by bookkeepers and cashiers. In 1990, the educational attainment of women employed as

teachers was mostly senior high education, whereas that of men was mostly tertiary education (Table 7-12).

### 7.3. The trend in occupational sex segregation

The index of dissimilarity (to measure the extent to which the occupational composition differs between male and female employment), which was developed by Duncan and Duncan (1955), will be used in order to measure the trend in occupational sex segregation in Jakarta during 1980-90. The calculation will be based on the 3-digit (detailed) occupations. The index is computed as:

$$S_t = \frac{1}{2} \sum |m_{it} - f_{it}|$$

where  $m_{it}$  = the percentage of the male labour force employed in occupation  $i$  in year  $t$

$f_{it}$  = the percentage of the female labour force employed in occupation  $i$  in year  $t$

The index ranges between 0 and 100. A value of 0 indicates that the distribution of women across occupations is identical to that of men. In other words, the proportion of those employed in each occupational category who are female is equal to the share of women in the total labour force. A value of 100 indicates complete sex segregation, with women employed in completely female categories and men working in entirely male occupations (Blau and Hendricks, 1978).

In the analysis, the three-digit occupations will be used since the broad occupations tend to understate the level of segregation (Presser and Kishor, 1991). Between 1980 and 1990 the detailed occupations in Jakarta based on the censuses have increased in number from 299 in 1980 to 312 in 1990 (excluding 999: labourers not elsewhere classified). When we examine changes in detailed occupational codes over time, four types of occupations can be identified. These are: type I - occupations which have not changed during 1980-90; type II - new occupations resulting from technological change which were not derived by the extraction of the occupational title from some



previously existing title (for example: personnel manager (216), research and development manager (217), calculating machine operators and data processors not elsewhere classified (349), inland and sea fisheries; type III - occupations affected by the reordering of specific occupations into a greater number of detailed occupations; type IV - occupations affected by the reordering of specific occupations into a smaller number of detailed occupations; and type V - occupations which appeared to have disappeared in Jakarta in 1990. In 1990 none of the workers - either male or female - were employed as mechanical engineers (24), chemical engineers (25), metallurgists (26), mining engineers (27), industrial engineers (28), or engineers not elsewhere classified (29). This might be because of sampling error. It is impossible that in 1990 no workers were employed in the above occupations.

In the analysis, the indexes will be measured based on both the total occupations without comparable aggregation and with comparable aggregation. The index without comparable aggregation is calculated based on all the occupations in each year. This is problematic because of lack of comparability over time. However, it allows some assessment of the extent to which back-aggregation for comparability (and thus a reduction in the number of categories) minimizes the measure of occupational segregation in recent years.

The comparable aggregation will be based on occupations which in 1980 have the same classification or one comparable to those in 1990. Occupations which have the same classification both in the 1980 and 1990 censuses will be calculated as they are. Similar occupations which did not have the same classification in the two censuses - which is in type III and IV - will be combined to create comparability. For type III occupations, in order to create comparability, the 1990 data were adjusted to the 1980 census classification. Stenographers, typists (321) and teletypists (322) which were classified separately in 1990 were classified together in the calculation in order to make it

comparable to the 1980 data. This also applies to bookkeepers (331) and cashiers (332) as well as insurance salesmen (441), real estate salesmen (442) and security salesmen (443). For type IV occupations, in order to create comparability, the 1980 data were adjusted to the 1990 census classification. Pavement vendors, street vendors and newsvendors which were classified separately in the 1980 census, were classified together in the calculation. Since kiosk vendors were not mentioned specifically in the 1990 code book, kiosk vendors were excluded from the calculation.

Occupations which appeared in the 1980 census but did not appear in the 1990 census or vice versa will be excluded in the calculation. Occupations which appeared in the 1980 census but did not appear in the 1990 census include the following: chemists (11), mechanical engineers (24), chemical engineers (25), metallurgists (26), mining engineers (27), industrial engineers (28), engineers not elsewhere classified (29), pharmacists (67), jurists not elsewhere classified (129), airport masters (353), wood-carving craftsmen (735), bamboo product makers (736), cigar makers (782), and stationary engine and related equipment operators not elsewhere classified (969). Occupations which appeared in the 1990 census but did not appear in the 1980 census include: architects, engineers (20), engineers and related technicians (30), telecommunications service supervisors (355). Occupations in the agricultural sector were also excluded from the calculation because the proportion of women in these occupations to total labour force was very small. The number of occupations which were comparable over the ten years was 265.

The index based on the occupations with and without comparable aggregation can be seen from Table 7-15. It shows that there is not much difference between the results of the two measures and the occupational sex segregation has declined during 1980-90. The decline in occupational sex segregation during this period could have been due to two things: a lessening of sex segregation in particular occupations or changes in the relative

importance of many occupations that were disproportionately female or male. The probable importance of the latter is suggested by the fact that household maid (540) which was a major occupation in Jakarta and was disproportionately female, has declined in relative importance during the ten years.

**Table 7-15** Indexes of dissimilarity in occupations of women and men based on both without and with comparable aggregation, Jakarta, 1980-90

	1980	1990
Without comparable aggregation		
Crude Measurement of Dissimilarity	50.8	47.5
Standardised Measurement of Dissimilarity	53.6	49.9
With comparable aggregation		
Crude Measurement of Dissimilarity	54.8	47.7
Standardised Measurement of Dissimilarity	53.5	50.2

Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Whereas in 1990 the indexes of dissimilarity without comparable aggregation are not much different from those calculated with comparable aggregation, in 1980 there was around four per cent difference in the indexes of dissimilarity between both measures. This is because of the redefinition of vendors. The small differences due to aggregation suggest that increasing job differentiation did not play a major role in the trend in occupational sex segregation in Jakarta during 1980-90. We also computed the size-standardised indexes of dissimilarity <sup>1</sup>. This standardisation changes the absolute size of all occupations so that each employs the same number of people in a given year and over time. However, differential rates of change in the growth of various occupations are an

<sup>1</sup> The formula was as follows:

$$S_i = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n \left| \frac{M_{it}}{T_{it}} - \frac{F_{it}}{T_{it}} \right|}{2} \times 100$$

Where  $M_{it}$  is the number of males in occupation i in year t  
 $F_{it}$  is the number of females in occupation i in year t  
 $T_{it}$  is the number of total employment in occupation i in year t

inherent part of the development process. Standardisation allows us to control for these changes and to assess the residual level of occupational sex segregation. Nevertheless, standardised measurement gave results similar to those of the crude measurement, with the index tending to decline during the ten years.

Table 7-16 shows changes in the degree of male-female concentration in broad occupations based on the three-digit level of classification. The calculation was standardised by total employment in each occupation. The calculation for 1980 was based on the data both with and without kiosk vendors, to examine the effect of this kind of activity on gender segregation in each broad occupation. The occupations were grouped according to the relative degree of gender concentration as follows (Scott, 1986a:344):

- (a) Occupations which were almost exclusively occupied by men or women; between 90-100 per cent for either sex.
- (b) Disproportionately male occupations: those where the female share of total employment was between 11 and 31 per cent of the population, and the male share was between 69-89 per cent.
- (c) Occupations with slight female over-representation : where women were 32-54 per cent of the employment. The share of women in the population was equal to or slightly above their overall proportion of the labour force, but they failed to achieve an absolute majority.
- (d) Occupations with high female over-representation where women had an absolute but not exclusive majority: women constituted 55-89 per cent of the population.

During the decade, the share in highly male dominated occupations (more than 90 per cent male) declined in almost all occupational groups. At the same time the proportion of employment in occupations with high female over-representation has increased, although a much greater proportion of the total labour force was still employed in male-dominated occupations than in female-dominated ones. The increase of the female-

dominated occupations is particularly because of the increase of the proportion of females employed in clerical (bookkeepers) and production occupations.

**Table 7-16. Proportions of employment in occupations with differing degrees of gender segregation, by type of occupation, Jakarta, 1980-90**

	Degrees of male-female concentration					Total
	M <sub>90%+</sub>	M <sub>69-89%</sub>	F <sub>32-54%</sub>	F <sub>55-89%</sub>	F <sub>90%+</sub>	
<b>1980</b>						
Professional	41	14	16	27	1	100
Administration	64	36	-	-	-	100
Clerical	7	90	3	-	-	100
Sales <sup>a</sup>	2	54	44	-	-	100
Services	21	20	1	58	-	100
Production	68	13	15	3	*	100
Total	32	36	18	14	*	100
Total (- kiosk vendors)	37	40	8	15	*	100
<b>1990</b>						
Professional	17	16	39	21	7	100
Administration	58	42	-	-	-	100
Clerical	7	52	29	12	-	100
Sales	*	76	24	-	-	100
Services	11	17	13	59	-	100
Production	56	16	10	18	-	100
Total	24	37	19	20	*	100

Sources: Indonesia, BPS, 1980 and 1990 census data tapes

Note : Agriculture is excluded

\* less than one per cent

<sup>a</sup> With kiosk vendors

The calculation is based on the 3-digit occupational code (ISIC)

M<sub>90%+</sub> = The proportion of females to total labour force in each occupation is 0-10 per cent

M<sub>69-89%</sub> = The proportion of females to total labour force in each occupation is 11-31 per cent

F<sub>32-54%</sub> = The proportion of females to total labour force in each occupation is 32-54 per cent

F<sub>55-89%</sub> = The proportion of females to total labour force in each occupation is 55-89 per cent

F<sub>90%+</sub> = The proportion of females to total labour force in each occupation is 90-100 per cent

The degree of concentration into heavily 'gendered' occupations varied between different occupational groups. In 1990, administration occupations were still male-dominated in Jakarta with more than 60 per cent of the workforce of this broad sector in the extreme male-dominated occupations. Sales occupations are increasingly male-dominated, particularly because of the great decline of women employed as kiosk vendors. Production occupations are also male-dominated, although the proportion of females employed in these occupations has increased during the decade. On the other hand, services is an increasingly female-dominated occupation. In 1980, cooks (531) were the only occupation in services in which the share of women to total employment was around 40 per cent. By 1990, service occupations with a high proportion of females had increased to three: working proprietors in catering and lodging services (510), housekeeping and related service supervisors (520), and waiters, bartenders and related workers (532).

The table shows that in 1990 females are still segregated in professional and services occupations. The pattern is very different in professions and services. In professions, many workers are in the middle group, whereas in services, many are in heavily female-dominated occupations.

## **Summary and Conclusion**

Changes in occupations for both women and men during 1980-90 have occurred particularly among the low status occupations. This is associated with changing government policies toward the informal sector, particularly the petty traders. Therefore, the changes mainly occurred within the same broad occupational group rather than from one broad group to another.

The greatest change was found for those employed in sales. Both women and men who are employed as vendors declined substantially in absolute terms and were replaced by an increasing number of women as well as men employed as working proprietors in retail trade and as saleswomen and shop assistants. The decline of vendors maybe related to the impacts of changes in classifications, particularly vendors shifting to the category of working proprietors.

Occupations which previously mostly employed less-educated women also increasingly became segmented. In sales, better-educated women were increasingly employed as shop assistants and saleswomen. In manufacturing, the single and better-educated women were increasingly employed as factory workers. Those who were married and less-educated were more likely to be employed as sub-contracting and putting-out workers in 1990.

Among the professional occupations, the pattern of change for women during 1980-90 was different from that for men. The greatest increase for women occurred among those employed as bookkeepers, cashiers, and related workers, which suggest that the rapid growth of the financial sector during 1980-90 favoured women more than men. The greatest increase for men was found among those employed as clerical workers.

During 1980-90, occupational sex segregation declined. This was because of declining sex segregation in particular occupations and the relative decline of women employed as household maids. Although most employment in Jakarta was male-dominated, the proportion of employment in occupations with high female over-representation increased during the decade, particularly in clerical and production occupations.

## Chapter 8 : Conclusion

This study examines changes in women's participation, employment and occupational sex segregation over time in Jakarta. The study makes several contributions to approaches to the study of female labour force participation in East and Southeast Asia and Indonesia.

The first major contribution, is that this study examines the analysis of change in female labour force. As mentioned in the introduction, most studies on female labour force participation and women's work in Indonesia are based on cross-sectional data. In the case of Jakarta, recent studies were undertaken by Widarti (1991) and Raharto (1992). However, none of these studies have examined changes over time. They are valuable in drawing attention to patterns of participation and work but do not examine how this has changed over time. Therefore, the fact that this study examines change in female labour force participation over time is a major contribution to knowledge.

The second major contribution of this study is the setting of changes in female labour force participation and female work in Jakarta in the context of socio-economic and demographic changes in other metropolitan areas of East and Southeast Asia. Analysis on change in female participation in the labour force and female employment in Asia has been undertaken by Jones (1984b), Lim (1993a) and Horton (1996). This study draws on the findings of these other studies to examine change in female participation and female work in Jakarta in the context of socio-economic and demographic change in East and Southeast Asia. In this study, the pattern of changing female participation in the labour force by age, marital status and education as well as female employment in Jakarta is compared to that in metropolitan areas of East and Southeast Asia, which include Bangkok, Singapore, and Hong Kong because of data availability.



The third major contribution of this study is its detailed analysis on the changes in occupations. By examining change in detailed occupation, it gives us clearer picture of changing women's occupation, which cannot be captured if we only analyse it based on broad (one-digit) occupational groupings. For example, the greatest change in women's occupation during 1980-90 occurred within the broad group of sales occupation. Within sales, women employed as vendors declined remarkably, not only in relative but also in absolute terms. On the other hand, women employed as working proprietors in retail trade and saleswomen and shop assistants increased during the period. These changes maybe related to changes in classifications of vendors to the category of working proprietors. The analysis based on detailed occupation also shows that occupations which mostly employ less-educated women increasingly became more segmented, as the schooling of women in the workforce improved.

A fourth contribution was the calculation of trends in occupational sex segregation. This important issue has been examined in many countries, particularly in developed countries, but not fully understood in Indonesia. The calculations used in this study were based on the 3-digit (detailed) occupational classification, which resulted in better results compared with the calculations based on the one-digit occupational class which has been used in several other studies.

The thesis also makes a contribution by applying a method derived by Bukit and Bakir (1984) to obtain the real figure of female participation rates based on the 1971 and 1980 censuses. Bukit and Bakir (1974) as well as Jones (1974) and Hidayat (1976) argued that the 1971 and 1980 censuses tend to record low female labour force participation rates partly because of a large proportion of women classified outside the labour force, but not undertaking schooling nor housekeeping. In this study, analysis of trends in female participation rates in Jakarta based on the 1971 and 1980 censuses were standardised to take account of these problems. According to this method, the number of

the labour force was adjusted based on the average proportion of 'others' category in the National Labour Force Survey (SAKERNAS). However, female participation rates based on the 1990 census were not standardised because they were assumed to be real. This is because the proportion of 'others' group based on this source does not differ much compared with that recorded in SAKERNAS.

The study produced three major findings. The first major finding of this study is that female labour force participation rates in Jakarta changed relatively little compared with other metropolitan areas of East and Southeast Asia. Particularly, if we look at the pattern of female participation rates by marital status, the pattern for Jakarta is distinct among other cities of East and Southeast Asia. Although participation rates of married women in Jakarta has increased over time, the increase was not as rapid as that in Hong Kong, Singapore and Taipei during 1970-90. In 1990, the rate was quite low compared to these metropolitan areas including Bangkok. Strong traditional values about proper role of women may have endured longer and kept more women out of the labour force which led to a less response from older married women to economic and social change.

Although economic change was also rapid in Jakarta, it was not as fast as in these other countries and this may have been a factor accounting for more conservative social values among married women. On the other hand, single women in Jakarta responded differently. Much greater increases in participation rates occurred among young and single women. These changes can be attributed to economic, social and demographic developments. Increased education, the Western influence from the media and delayed age at first marriage appear to have influenced younger women to a much greater extent than older women in Jakarta.

The second major finding is that the pattern of change in women's occupation in Jakarta during 1980-90 was also different from that in other cities of East and Southeast Asia. This was partly because of the different stage in the industrialisation policies which affected the pattern of women's employment in East and Southeast Asia. In 1980, the largest share of women in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Bangkok was employed in manufacturing which reflected the growth of labour-intensive and export-oriented manufacturing. However, in 1990, the proportion of women employed in manufacturing in these cities declined, particularly in Hong Kong and Singapore, partly because the manufacturing sector contracted as the service sector expanded after 1980. On the other hand, the proportion of women employed in manufacturing in Jakarta increased during 1980-90, although it was still low compared to the cities mentioned above. This was partly because of the growth of the labour-intensive industries which started in the 1980s in Jakarta.

If we look at the percentage of female to total workers by occupation, the pattern for Jakarta is similar to that of Bangkok where females were strongly represented in service occupations. Further, the share of women to total workers in this occupation tended to increase over time. This pattern is different from that in Hong Kong and Singapore where clerical occupations were highly sex-segregated in favour of females.

Job segregation in services in Jakarta was partly due to the importance of domestic service as the source of income among the less-educated women. In 1990, women employed as household maids still ranked first in total female employment, although the proportion had declined during 1980-90. This is in contrast to the NICs and Bangkok where domestic service had declined in importance as a major occupation for women from the 1970s.

The third finding is based on the calculation of occupational sex segregation over time in Jakarta based on the three-digit codes. I found that during the ten year period, the share in highly male-dominated occupations (more than 90 per cent male) declined in almost all occupational groups, whereas the share of employment in occupations with high female over-representation increased. Female-dominated occupations rose especially in clerical and production occupations. Within clerical occupations, women increasingly played an important role in bookkeeping. However, females were still segregated in professional and services occupations in 1990. Rapid economic growth, education and associated change in demographic behaviour seems to have had an important influence on the structure of female work. Eventhough female participation rates did not rise much among married women, younger women were now competing with men in a far wider range of jobs, especially related to the narrowing education gap. The values of these women and values in the society seem to have changed regarding what is appropriate work. Nevertheless, these changes do not seem to be as rapid as elsewhere in the region, at least in other metropolitan areas of East and Southeast Asia..

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## Appendix

**Appendix 5-1. Standardisation of female labour force participation, Jakarta, 1971**

Age group	Econo- mically Active Pop'n (DKI) 1971	Proportion of 'others' category			Addition to labour force	Labour force (DKI)	Adjusted labour force	Standard- ised FLFPR
		1971 Census Indo- nesia	Average Sakernas 1976-78	Differ- ence				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
				(2)-(3)	(4)/100*1		(5)+(6)	(7)/(1)*100
15-19	264307	11.25	3.89	7.36	19453	55133	74586	28
20-24	227079	5.77	1.51	4.26	9674	49832	59506	26
25-29	201053	2.71	0.59	2.12	4262	44712	48974	24
30-34	163611	2.08	0.66	1.42	2323	39922	42245	26
35-39	135475	2.11	0.89	1.22	1653	36535	38188	28
40-44	93674	3.26	1.53	1.73	1621	26899	28520	30
45-49	60713	4.7	2.94	1.76	1069	16373	17442	29
50-54	47213	9.57	7.51	2.06	973	11966	12939	27
55-59	25130	-	-	-	-	4760	4760	19
60-64	24937	-	-	-	-	3696	3696	15
Total	1243192				41028	289828	330856	27

Sources: Jakarta (1974: Table 29); Jakarta (1975: Table 36); Jakarta (1978: Table 01.2); Jakarta (1979: Table 01.2); Jakarta (1980: Table 01.2)

**Appendix 5-2. Standardisation of female labour force participation, Jakarta, 1980**

Age group	Econo- mically. Active Pop'n (DKI) 1980	Proportion of 'others' category			Addition to labour force	Labour force (DKI)	Standard- ised labour force	Standard- ised FLFPR
		1980 Census (Indo- nesia)	Average Sakernas 1976-78	Differ- ence				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
				(2)-(3)	(4)/100*1		(5)+(6)	(7)/(1)*100
15-19	428345	12.38	3.89	8.49	36366	115399	151765	35
20-24	388815	8.84	1.51	7.33	28500	110382	138882	36
25-29	288203	4.75	0.59	4.16	11989	77952	89941	31
30-34	202775	2.98	0.66	2.32	4704	50446	55150	27
35-39	182285	2.51	0.89	1.62	2953	48376	51329	28
40-44	144459	3.68	1.53	2.15	3106	39112	42218	29
45-49	101329	5.48	2.94	2.54	2574	25276	27850	27
50-54	81197	10.59	7.51	3.08	2501	19566	22067	27
55-59	46972	-	-	-	-	9184	9184	20
60-64	39560	-	-	-	-	6119	6119	15
Total	1903940				92693	501812	594505	31

Sources: Jakarta (1978: Table 01.2); Jakarta (1979: Table 01.2); Jakarta (1980: Table 01.2) Jakarta (1983b: Table 30.2); Jakarta (1983c: Table 39.2)

## Glossary

<i>ABG</i>	anak baru gedhe; originally means teenagers, but this term refers to teenage prostitutes
<i>arisan</i>	a rotating credit association
<i>ASEAN</i>	Association of South-East Asian Nations
<i>becak</i>	trishaw, pedicab
<i>bedeng</i>	a barrack accommodation for lower status migrant labours
<i>Betawi</i>	native people of Jakarta
<i>Dharma Wanita</i>	the largest women's organisation; includes wives' of the civil servants
<i>ibu</i>	mother; it is also a polite form of address for women of all ages, whether they are actually mothers or not
<i>JABOTABEK</i>	Jakarta Bogor Tangerang Bekasi
<i>kampung</i>	section of a city or village
<i>keberatan</i>	did not agree with
<i>lokalisasi</i>	lower-level prostitution residential complex
<i>perek</i>	perempuan eksperimental: promiscuous young woman
<i>tidak keberatan</i>	did not object
<i>kegiatan utama</i>	main activity
<i>kegiatan terbanyak</i>	activity mostly involved in
<i>LPUI</i>	Lembaga Penelitian Universitas Indonesia (Research Centre University of Indonesia)
<i>majlis taklim</i>	moslem women's prayer meeting
<i>mburi</i>	in the kitchen
<i>NICs</i>	Newly Industrialised Countries
<i>ningrat</i>	high-class family
<i>pengajian</i>	Moslem prayer meeting
<i>PERUMNAS</i>	the state housing company
<i>PKK</i>	Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Program)
<i>selamatan</i>	ritual ceremony involving the consecration of food
<i>sinetron</i>	sinema elektronik (a television drama which resembles the commercial cinema and is produced by the government-owned television system)
<i>siraman</i>	a ceremony before a woman gets married
<i>SAKERNAS</i>	The National Labour Force Survey
<i>SUPAS</i>	The Intercensal Survey
<i>SUSENAS</i>	The National Socio-Economic Survey
<i>TIBUM</i>	Penertiban Umum (the city authorities who patrol the number of vendors in some areas in order to make Jakarta less cluttered by the informal sector)
<i>Ustad</i>	Moslem leader